urged the convention to increase the power of the executive, especially by providing for the governor's direct election, increasing his patronage powers, and giving him a limited power of veto over legislation. At this convention Vroom also stated again the anticorporation and antibanking sentiments he had expressed as governor.

In 1846 Vroom, with Chief Justice Henry W. Green, Stacy G. Potts, and William L. Dayton, revised the statutes of the state to bring them into compliance with the new constitution. In 1853, President Franklin Pierce appointed him ambassador to Prussia, where he remained until 1857. Serving in Prussia during the Crimean War, Vroom dealt with a number of issues arising from the conflict, but his major problem as an American minister developed out of the large German emigration to the United States during this period. Vroom served early in 1861 as a commissioner to the peace conference called by Virginia to try to avert a civil war. In 1865, he replaced his son. John P. Vroom, who had died several months earlier, as a law reporter of the New Jersey Supreme Court, and served in this capacity until his death in 1873.

In summary, Peter Dumont Vroom left an important mark on the politics of New Jersey. He helped restore the governorship to a position of prominence; he helped to codify the laws in the state; he was one of the founders of the New Jersey Democratic party; and he helped rewrite the state constitution.

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Herbert Ershkowitz



Samuel Lewis Southard (June 9, 1787-June 26, 1842) was governor of New Jersey for barely four months. His service was a brief though eventful interlude in a lengthy, varied, and distinguished political career. He was born in Basking Ridge, Somerset County, to Henry Southard, one of the founders of the Jeffersonian-Republican party in New Jersey, and Sarah (Lewis) Southard. Educated in a classical school run by the Reverend Robert Finley in Basking Ridge, he entered the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) in 1802. Following his graduation in 1804, Southard taught school in Mendham, Morris County. Less than two years later, a Virginia congressional colleague of his father's, John Taliaferro, offered Samuel a position as tutor to his sons and nephews. He accepted and for five years lived at the Taliaferro plantation, "Hagley," in King George County. There he studied law with the eminent Fredericksburg jurist Francis T. Brooke. In 1809 Southard was admitted to the Virginia bar, and in 1811 he returned to his native state to establish a practice. Shortly after his return to New Jersey Southard married Rebecca Harrow, the daughter of a deceased Episcopal clergyman from the Northern Neck of Virginia. In 1812 the Southards established a residence in Flemington, the seat of Hunterdon County. They moved to Trenton in 1817.

From the outset of his adult life in New Jersey Southard was deeply involved in politics. As a young lawyer he wrote anonymous newspaper articles for the New Brunswick Fredonian and other leading Jeffersonian papers, and, during the War of 1812, began his lifelong role as a party organizer and spokesman. His evident talents, in combination, no doubt, with his name, enabled him to exert considerable influence in state politics during the period between the collapse of the first party system and the emergence of a new system organized according to loyalty or opposition to Andrew Jackson. This influence he used not merely in patronage dispensation or as a force in making nominations for elected offices, but also to secure lucrative and prestigious public positions for himself. Before reaching the age of thirty-seven, Southard served as assemblyman, justice of the state supreme court, United States senator, and, beginning in 1823, secretary of the navy under James Monroe—the first Jerseyman ever appointed to the cabinet. Invariably, he no sooner took one post than he began to look to others.

Officeholding was not his only concern. Adhering to an evolving and progressive Jeffersonian philosophy of government, Southard supported the Republican party and such causes as internal improvements, public education, the colonization of free blacks, prison reform, and fair treatment of Indians. The presidential campaign of 1824 forced him to choose among five major Republican candidates with somewhat disparate understandings of the Jeffersonian creed. Southard's support for the policies of President Monroe, as well as his cordial personal relations with his cabinet colleague John C.

Calhoun, led him to support the young Carolinian for president. Southard effectively organized Calhoun's campaign in New Jersey, and by late 1823 it was widely believed that Calhoun would run well in the state as a "Southern man with Northern principles."

The collapse of the Calhoun movement in March 1824 left Southard adrift. William H. Crawford's views were unpalatable, Andrew Jackson was in his view unqualified, Henry Clay's following in New Jersey was insubstantial, and the men running John Quincy Adams's campaign were not his political friends. Hence Southard professed neutrality, though privately he had little difficulty supporting Adams as the man most qualified and congenial to his own political notions, and most likely to keep him in the cabinet if elected.

Jackson won a plurality in the general election, but Adams triumphed in the House of Representatives and retained Southard as secretary of the navy. Southard devoted himself to strengthening the department, as he would continue to do in the Senate in the 1830s. The leading student of national public administration, Leonard D. White, has called Southard "a vigorous and effective secretary," "perhaps the ablest" of any who served during the Jeffersonian era (1801-29). As navy secretary Southard maintained close communication with administration supporters in New Jersey and deepened his commitment to the progressive Jeffersonianism he believed Adams represented. He served as the chief conduit for both patronage and intelligence between state and national capitals.

Southard played a major role in New Jersey in the presidential campaign of 1828, in which Adams carried the state. Jackson, however, won a convincing national triumph, and Southard was out of a job. Because Adams's supporters controlled the state legislature, Southard had expectations of a return to the United States Senate. However, a schism within the anti-Jackson ranks in joint meeting

resulted in a setback even more mortifying because it was his bitter political rival, Mahlon Dickerson, who defeated him.

Southard was able in 1829 to win election as state attorney general. In this post he assumed leadership of the National Republican party in New Jersey; from it he rose to the governor's chair in 1832. when his party regained control of the state after three years of Jacksonian dominance. His election was a case of the office seeking the man rather than the man the office. The governorship conferred prestige and a measure of control over patronage (no inconsiderable factor in the party battles of this era), but the opportunity for leadership and national reputation lay in the United States Senate. His party, however, lacking a candidate of stature for the governor's office, entreated Southard to accept it and he reluctantly acquiesced.

Southard served as governor for only four months. During this period, he presided over a wholesale purge of Jacksonians from state, county, and local posts, demonstrating that in New Jersey at least, anti-Jacksonians were as adept as their partisan counterparts in distribution of political patronage. On state issues, however, the parties had few differences at the time. Perhaps the most significant issue was whether the state should erect a new prison (and remove the state arsenal from the capitol building to the old prison) at a cost of \$150,000. A bipartisan committee of the legislature agreed with the governor that "long experience has shown, that our present building, and the system of discipline necessarily connected with it, can neither be reconciled with the principles of a just economy, nor with the great purposes of human punishment." The legislature voted the funds for the project, and the new prison was erected during Peter D. Vroom's second tenure as governor.

In areas aside from the prison question, Southard's recommendations had less impact. No doubt impressed as governor by the weakness of his office, Southard

urged that the constitution be amended to permit popular election. He also sought to divest the office of its judicial duties, believing that they inhibited the election of any but lawyers and imposed intolerable political pressures in legal proceedings. In his message of January 11, 1833. Southard also supported curbs on the influx of "colored persons" into the state, though he made no specific recommendations, and favored altering the poorly functioning militia system by making service voluntary; those who did not wish to serve would pay a tax which could be used for public education or some similar purpose. A voluntary system was enacted, but not during Southard's tenure.

In his annual message to the legislature Southard, speaking less as a state administrator than a party leader, injected his -and presumably his party's-credo on national issues. He supported "a tariff which shall protect the industry of the country"; a "sound currency"; "internal improvements"; and "the independence of the judicial power, which was intended to possess and to exercise jurisdiction on constitutional questions and controversies between states." He alluded to the failures of the Jackson administration in each of these areas, with special emphasis on the Jacksonians' war against the Bank of the United States—a war that Southard believed would mean the ascendancy of state and local banks "similar to those which once scattered ruin and distress over the country and affected even the national Treasury.'

As governor, of course, Southard could have little influence on the resolution of these highly charged national issues. But on the most emotional question of the moment, the nullification crisis, he was able to present his views at some length. Responding to the Tariff of 1832, South Carolina called a convention and, on November 24, passed an Ordinance of Nullification. South Carolina's challenge to the administration (and implicitly to the North) on this issue provoked a firestorm of controversy. President Jackson,

himself a slaveholder and strict-constructionist Jeffersonian, astounded his erstwhile enemies in his December 10 proclamation to the people of South Carolina by coming down firmly against nullification and threatening to coerce that state into submission if necessary. Northern state legislatures expressed support for the president's forceful message and sent documents calling on New Jersev to join this coalition. Southard introduced these documents to the legislature on January 11, 1833, with his most noteworthy state paper as governor, a scholarly yet impassioned disquisition on nullification's genesis, sophistries, and potential ramifications.

Several themes surfaced in the eighteen-page analysis. First, the supremacy of law and the need to adjudicate constitutional disputes through normal channels—that is, the court system. Nullification, Southard stressed, was an illegitimate effort to circumvent the system established by the framers. "The provisions which have been received in the South Carolina Ordinance of Nullification," he wrote, "are utterly repugnant to the spirit and existence of all our institutions, and to the rights and privileges under them, of the minority of the people of that state. Their enforcement would, of itself, sever the Unionbreak the bonds of connection between the states—and render them separate powers. That which was proposed as a peaceful remedy leads, inevitably, in the end, to war."

Second, secession was both unjustified and intolerable. It was "revolution and disunion" entirely unsanctioned by the Constitution and unacceptable to the other states. Observing that Jackson's determination to uphold the laws of the land was "the language of duty, of office, and of the constitution of the United States," Southard made it clear that New Jersey would contribute whatever might be asked of it in a clash between federal authority and South Carolina.

Partly out of longstanding personal dislike of Jackson and public opposition to Jackson's politics, Southard had to qualify his words of support for the president. He expressed regret that Jackson's language should be so violent as to encourage defiance by the Carolinians. Moreover, as he would explain in another message to the legislature (January 28, 1833), he disagreed with Jackson's constitutional interpretation in a key particular. Although he reiterated his rejection of nullification, he insisted that the Constitution did not sanction coercion of a state; it provided that the federal government should act directly only on individuals. "Both the coercion and the right of resistance spoken of, are opposed to the theory of our institutions"-a theory upon which he elaborated at some length.

The language was constitutional, but the purport was in large measure political. Southard was only too happy to join in flailing the dragon of nullification. But he did not wish to be locked in embrace with his enemy of long standing. Hence the stress on constitutional differences even as he upheld the substance of Jackson's position. The apparent awkwardness of this stance (though in fact the constitutional argument was quite orthodox) led to some political jibes from the Jackson press. The Newark New-Jersey Eagle claimed that in staking out a position apart from President Jackson's. Southard had joined forces with John C. Calhoun, for whom (recalling his friendship with Calhoun during the 1820s), he "has not yet lost his partiality." Should the two men ever again meet in the Senate, the Eagle's editor suggested, "both advocating the doctrine of state supremacy, over the powers of the General Government, who will venture to foretell the consequences? Let the people of New Jersey look to it." To this distortion of Southard's position the National Republican press replied at length and with vigor.

Soon after, however, the controversy died; Congress passed a compromise tariff, and South Carolina, realizing its isolation on the issue, relaxed its defiant posture. Southard viewed the denoue-

ment of the crisis not from Trenton but from Washington. The joint meeting of the legislature elected him to the Senate on February 23, and he resigned on February 27 to join his fellow Whigs in Washington to debate the tariff, bank, Indian, and land issues. He was succeeded as governor by Elias P. Seeley.

Southard remained in the Senate for the rest of his life. He won a measure of acclaim for his attacks on Jacksonian economic and social policy and respect for his chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs. He was elected president pro tem of the Senate in March 1841, and he became the permanent presiding officer of that body less than a month later when President William Henry Harrison died and Vice-President John Tyler succeeded him.

When not engaged in politics, Southard was an active member of the New Jersey bar and occasionally argued before the United States Supreme Court. During the 1830s he was counsel for the Joint Transportation Companies in their legal battles with rival railroads. He served other corporations as well. One of them, the Morris Canal and Banking Company, named him president in 1837, compelling him and his family to move from Trenton to Jersey City. He served as president of the company for little more than a year and resigned in 1839 when his Senate responsibilities and other business interests prevented his giving full attention to the corporation. He remained, however, on retainer to the Morris Canal and Banking Company until his death.

As a lawyer, Southard participated in a number of significant cases, including the hearing before the New Jersey legislature in January 1815 about the monopoly of Aaron Ogden's steamboat line. Another was the "Hicksite" case over the division of properties between contending factions of West Jersey Quakers.

A handsome, impressive-looking man who tended toward corpulence in his later years, Southard suffered increasingly from ill-health. His final illness made him, according to one contemporary, "a mass of gouty afflictions," and forced him to resign from the presidency of the Senate on May 31, 1842. He died in Fredericksburg, Virginia, on June 26, 1842, aged fifty-five, survived by his wife and three of their seven children.

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Michael J. Birkner



ELIAS PETTIT SEELEY (November 10, 1791–August 23, 1846), governor of New Jersey for seven months in 1833, was born in Deerfield Township (later Bridgeton), the son of Ebenezer and Mary (Clark) Seeley. His father, a merchant and a life-long Cumberland County resident, served for many years as a Jeffersonian-Republican legislator.

Elias Seeley was educated informally. After studying with a local attorney, Daniel Elmer, he was licensed as a lawyer in 1815. According to Lucius Q. C. Elmer, a contemporary from Cumberland County, the younger Seeley "never attained much celebrity as an advocate, but had a good local practice as an attorney and Conveyancer."

On March 6, 1816, Seeley married Jane E. Champneys. The couple had two children, Elias P., Jr., and Rebecca. Until the

From: "B & B" <btimes2@earthlink.net>

To: "Michael Birkner" < mbirkner@gettysburg.edu>

Subject: Re: Samuel Southard

Date: Saturday, August 02, 2003 8:00 AM

Thank you for your quick reply and suggestions. I have acted upon both of them and am looking forward to finding out more information.

Sincerely,

Brian A. Smith

---- Original Message -----

From: "Michael Birkner" <mbirkner@gettysburg.edu>

To: "B & B" <btimes2@earthlink.net>

Sent: Saturday, August 02, 2003 8:44 AM

Subject: RE: Samuel Southard

Dear Mr. Smith, thanks for your nice note. I appreciate the kind words about my biography of your distant relative Samuel Southard. It's not often that I hear from anyone about that book. I'm afraid I do not know where John died. Samuel was Secretary of the Navy at the time, but until John Quincy Adams's election in the Winter of 1825 I believe the Southards were maintaining two houses. Thereafter, they rented their Trenton home to Garret Wall, until the Southards moved back to New Jersey after Adams's defeat in the election of 1828.

Off the top of my head I know virtually nothing about Rebecca Southard's life after her husband died. As you know from reading my book, she was mentally unstable and her relations with her husband were not amicable in the last years of his life. I don't believe she was living with Virginia, who had married a prominent New York lawyer/politician named Ogden Hoffman and begun raising children. It could be Rebecca returned to family in Virginia and died there.

There are some Southard family papers post 1842 in Firestone Library at Princeton University, and you may wish to talk with an archivist there about what they have. If they have correspondence of Henry and/or Samuel, Rebecca's surviving sons, as I think they do, they might mention what she was doing and where she was.

If you're interested in more tidbits about the Southard family's life in Washington, a good source to consult is Margaret Bayard Smith's The First Forty Years of Washington Society. It's available in most college and university libraries.

> Brian A. Smith

Good luck! If I can be of any further assistance, don't hesitate to let me know. Michael Birkner

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> -----
> From: B & B
> Sent: Saturday, August 2, 2003 1:13 AM
> To: Michael Birkner
> Subject: Samuel Southard
> Dear Mr. Birkner,
> I have read your biography on Samuel L. Southard and was very much
impressed - thank you for gathering this information and having it
published. I am a distant relative of his and stumbled across your book
several years ago.
> Recently, I had the opportunity to visit the Congressional Cemetery in
Washington, DC and ended up being enlisted by them to help with their
project of detailing every burial there. It is quite fascinating as 3 of his
children were buried there (John in 1824, Sarah in 1825 and Ann in 1829) and
then moved in 1842, or so we think. In your book it states that he was
buried next to "two of his children" as is found in other sources. However
in looking over the cemetery records, it does appear that all 3 of his
children were moved - Samuel was moved from a public receiving vault in
November 1842 to his site and it appears his 3 children were moved at the
same time.
> Which brings me to my question: his son John died 12/27/1824 - do you know
if this occurred in Trenton or in Washington? There appears a lengthy time
period between John's death and his burial and this may be accounted for if
he died in Trenton.
>
> One other question: during your research, did you find any information
about Samuel's widow, Rebecca (Harrow)? I have not found anything more about
her - death, burial, etc.
> Thank you very much.
>
> Sincerely,
```

CYCLOPEDIA OF NEW IERSEY

SOUTHARD, Samuel L.,

Lawyer, Statesman.

This distinguished lawyer and statesman was a native of New Jersey, born in Baskingridge, June 7, 1787. His father, Henry Southard, was of Long Island, and in early youth came to New Jersey; he served in the legislature, and was for sixteen years a Member of Congress.

Samuel L. Southard was educated in a classical school in his native town, where he had among his classmates Theodore Frelinghuysen and Joseph R. Ingersoll, the latter of Philadelphia, and these three were also fellow students at Princeton College, from which young Southard graduated at the early age of seventeen. After leaving college he was for a time a school teacher at Mendham, Morris county, He subsequently met in Washington City, a friend of his father and a fellow congressman, Colonel John Taliaferro, of Virginia, who tendered him the tutorage of his sons and nephews. This offer he accepted, and proceeded to the home of Colonel Taliaferro, in Hagley, King George's county, Virginia, where he was treated as a member of the family. For five years he gave instrution to the youth of his patron's family, devoting his spare time to law studies, under the personal preceptorship of Judges Green and Brooks, of Fredericksburg. In 1809 he was admitted to the bar, and engaged in

practice. In 1811 he located in Flemington, New Jersey, where he rose to high rank in his profession. His public services began in 1814, when he was appointed Prosecuting Attorney of Hunterdon county. He meanwhile had attracted wide and favorable attention by his argument before the General Assembly in opposition to a petition for the repeal of a law granting to Aaron Ogden and Daniel Dod the exclusive right to use steamboats plying in New Jersey waters between that State and New York, and this led to his election to the Assembly in the following year. His service in that body was but short, as he was almost immediately appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court of the State to succeed Governor Mahlon Dickerson, who had become governor. He removed to Trenton, when he was occupied for five years with judicial duties. being also selected as reporter of his own In 1820, in association with decisions. Charles Ewing, he was engaged with preparing and superintending the publication of the "Revised Statutes of the State." In the fall of the same year he was chosen a presidential elector, and cast his vote for his warm personal friend James Monroe, for the presidential office. In 1821 he was elected to the United States Senate, and he resigned his judgeship. Mr. Southard entered the Senate at a time when great excitement prevailed growing out of the slavery mission of Missouri to the Union. House having voted against admission, at the instance of Henry Clay a joint committee of the Senate and House was appointed to consider the matter, and a remarkable meeting occurred that of Hon. Henry Southard, a member of the House, and his son Henry L., of the Senate, as members of a conference body to take into consideration one of the weightiest questions in the history of the Nation. The resolutions which were adopted were from the pen of the junior Southard, but, at the instance of Clay, they were passed to the House, there to have their first public introduction, and Commence Available

on this account Mr. Clay received the credit for their origin, and Mr. Southard was comparatively unknown in the matter. Mr. Southard remained in the Senate until 1823, when he succeeded Hon. Smith Thompson as Secretary of the Navy. He remained in this position during the remainder of President Monroe's term, and he was retained by President John Quincy Adams. During this period he also filled for short periods the positions of Acting Secretary of the Treasury and also of the War Department. In 1829 he was defeated for re-election to the United States Senate through the adoption in the legislature of a resolution declaring him ineligible on the ground of non-residency. A month later he was elected Attorney General to succeed Theodore Frelinghuysen, who had been elected to the Senate. Mr. Southard now took up his residence in Trenton, and resumed his law practice. In 1823 he was elected Governor, but only served for three months, being elected again to the Senate. His brief gubernatorial term was marked by one impressive event, which is commemorated in the only message he addressed to the legislature. He had received from the South Carolina authorities copies of the nullification acts of that State; these he transmitted to the legislature, accompanying them with his explicit concurrence in the views of President Jackson, and which for a time united all parties at the north in one solid body to the support of the grim old soldier-president whose voice had rung out in the fiery slogan, "The Federal Union must and shall be preserved." In the Senate, from the day he took his seat until the last, he took a very active part in the proceedings of that body, although his party was in the minority. From his first election to the General Assembly until the close of his service as a cabinet officer under President Adams, he was a Democrat. Meanwhile party nomenclature came to mean but little; both Adams and Jackson. strongly opposed to each other, were termed Democrats. Senator Southard affiliated with the "Anti-Jacksonites," and when, at the close of President Jackson's second term, Van Buren was nominated by the Democrats and the Whig party was formed, Southard joined with the new organization, which was, in effect, identical with the Anti-Jackson faction.

In 1838 Mr. Southard became president

of the Morris Canal and Banking Company, and he thereafter made his residence in Jersey City. He was an ardent advocate of temperance, carrying his views and practice to that of total abstinence. He was strongly attached to the Presbyterian church, but was not a communicant. He married, in June, 1812, while residing in Virginia, Rebecca Harrow, daughter of an Episcopal clergyman. He died June 26, 1842, at the home of his wife's brother, in Fredericksburg, Virginia.













With a preface by Senator Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore

Prepared by the Senate Historical Office under the direction of Nancy Erickson, Secretary of the Senate

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73. Carter Glass (VA), 1941–1945

Foreword

resident pro tempore Robert C. Byrd's reverence for the constitutional prerogatives, time-tested procedures, and unifying traditions of the United States Senate prompted the creation of this book. The 86th president pro tempore to serve since 1789 and the only modern-era occupant of that post to serve four non-consecutive terms, Senator Byrd has for many years studied the office's origins and development with his characteristic thoroughness. In May 1980, as Senate majority leader, he addressed the topic in two carefully crafted Senate floor speeches. Nine years later, in his first term as president pro tempore, Senator Byrd expanded his earlier remarks. This extended essay appeared in the second volume of his encyclopedic *The Senate*, 1789–1989. There, he concluded, "The election of a senator to the office of president pro tempore has always been considered one of the highest honors offered to a senator by the Senate as a body. That honor has been bestowed upon a colorful and

significant group of senators during the past two centuries—men who stamped their imprint on the office and on their times." It is therefore most fitting that this book be inaugurated during the tenure of Senator Robert C. Byrd—the longest-serving senator in our nation's history.

This volume owes its existence to the expertise of the following members of the Senate Historical Office: Richard A. Baker, Mary Baumann, Beth Hahn, Betty K. Koed, Heather Moore, and Donald A. Ritchie. Dr. Koed prepared the essay surveying the development of the president pro tempore's office to 1890, and Dr. Ritchie brought the story from 1890 to our own times.

Nancy Erickson Secretary United States Senate



Preface

bservers of Congress are generally aware that the Senate president pro tempore is one of our national legislature's three constitutionally mandated officers. Few, however, are acquainted with the diversity of background and accomplishment of the 87 senators who have held that post during its 219-year span.

Since 1949, the Senate has awarded this high honor to its majority party's most senior member. Earlier times, however, occasionally witnessed spirited election contests for the office. Perhaps the most dramatic occurred in 1911. In that year, selection of a replacement for William Frye of Maine—who had served in that position for 15 of his 30 years in the Senate—caused a rancorous three-month disruption of Senate proceedings. Republican Jacob Gallinger of New Hampshire, candidate of the majority party, trailed Democrat Augustus Bacon of Georgia, with other senators receiving scattered votes. Under a longstanding practice that reflects the position's great stature, the president pro tempore must win a majority of all votes cast, rather than a mere plurality of those received by multiple candidates. In 1911, no candidate secured that majority. Additional rounds of voting over the ensuing weeks failed to produce a winner. Finally, on August 12, as pressure mounted for a decision on statehood for Arizona and New Mexico, and as senators agitated to escape Washington's wilting summer heat, party leaders brokered an unprecedented compromise. For the remainder of that Congress, Democrat Bacon would alternate as president pro tempore with Gallinger and three other Republicans. The intense emotions fired by this deadlock prompted the Senate to

publish extracts of its proceedings for all president pro tempore elections between 1789 and 1911. The resulting densely packed 250-page document, until now, has stood as the only Senate-produced account of the office's development.

A brief review of this new volume's pages will make clear that the Senate, from its earliest days, elected its most exemplary members to this office—individuals who brought to their rulings an extra measure of gravity and respect. What was said of President pro tempore James Hillhouse in 1801 could be applied to many of his successors. "He had that sort of natural leadership among his equals; that special faculty of influence over men, that power of winning their full confidence and of making them willing to follow where he led."

I am most grateful to Secretary of the Senate Nancy Erickson and to the historians who work under her jurisdiction within the Senate Historical Office for preparing this engaging volume.

I also wish to take this opportunity to acknowledge the indispensable support of my own talented and loyal staff, including Barbara Videnieks, Betsy Dietz, and Martha Anne McIntosh.

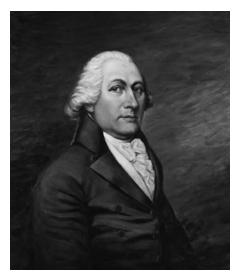
Above all, I recognize the memory of my partner in nearly 69 years of life and love: my late wife, the coal miner's daughter— Erma Ora James.

Robert C. Byrd President Pro Tempore United States Senate



The Formative Years, 1789–1860

hortly after the United States Senate achieved its first quorum at Federal Hall in New York City on April 6, 1789, members elected a presiding officer to oversee the official counting of electoral ballots for the election of George Washington as president and John Adams as vice president. The Senate chose New Hampshire member John Langdon—merchant and delegate to the Continental Congress—to preside over the historic event. At its conclusion, the Senate formally elected Langdon president pro tempore. Langdon remained in that post for two weeks until Vice President Adams



John Langdon served as the Senate's first president pro tempore.

arrived in the Senate on April 21. When Langdon escorted Adams to the presiding officer's chair, he forfeited his own position as presiding officer.

As a constitutional officer of the Senate who is paid by legislative funds, the vice president was expected to preside full time. Absences were inevitable, however, due to difficulty in travel, illness, or other obligations. For that reason, the framers of the Constitution provided that in the absence of the vice president the Senate could choose a president

pro tempore to perform the duties of the chair. The Constitution did not define the duties, powers, and responsibilities of that office. Events, personalities, and the Senate's evolving needs would shape its early development. Over many decades, the Senate's president pro tempore would evolve into a position of respect and prestige, providing institutional stability and continuity.

In the Senate's earliest years, the president pro tempore—chosen on a temporary basis (pro tempore meaning "for the time being" in Latin)—was selected for personal characteristics, such as popularity, reliability, and mastery of the Senate's rules and procedures. The tenure of the president pro tempore ended with the appearance of the vice president, so terms of service typically were short and sporadic in nature. John Langdon served four separate terms from 1789 to 1793. During the Fourth Congress, there were three presidents pro tempore. Five served during the Fifth Congress, and another four served during the Sixth Congress. In all, more than a dozen senators held the office during the Senate's first decade. In the years that followed, a few served for longer periods, due to the death of a vice president or when a vice president succeeded to the presidency. When John Tyler became president following the 1841 death of President William Henry Harrison, for example, three presidents pro tempore served throughout the next four years.

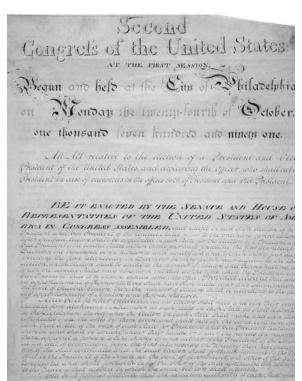
Precedents set by John Adams as the Senate's constitutional president and John Langdon as the first president pro tempore shaped the early role of the presiding officer. Adams initially sought an active role in the Senate's daily debates, but the position of vice president soon



The Senate met in this chamber inside Congress Hall, in Philadelphia, PA, from 1790 to 1800.

became distinctly neutral. Unlike its counterpart on the other side of Capitol Hill—the Speaker of the House—the president pro tempore did not evolve into a position of party leadership, nor did it share the vice president's constitutional prerogative—the ability to break a tie vote.

Unlike the vice president, the president pro tempore is an elected member of the U.S. Senate, able to speak or vote on any issue. Selected by the Senate at large, the president pro tempore has enjoyed many privileges and some limited powers. In 1792, the Succession Act placed the president pro tempore directly behind the vice president in the line to fill a presidential vacancy. Beginning in 1812, presidents pro tempore began receiving additional pay during the absence of a vice president. They have received a higher level of compensation than other senators since 1816. In the 1840s, following the elevation of Vice



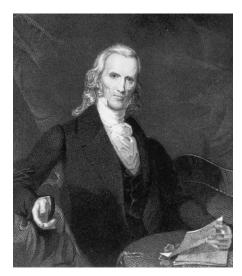
The Presidential Succession Act of 1792 placed the president pro tempore directly behind the vice president in the line to fill a presidential vacancy.

President John Tyler to the presidency, the Senate began paying the president pro tempore the equivalent of a vice president's salary. This policy remained in place until 1969 when the president pro tempore's salary was fixed at the same level as the majority and minority leaders. During the 39th Congress, Senator Lafayette Foster was compensated for service as senator, president pro tempore, and—during an extended vacancy in the vice presidency vice president.

Although the Senate recognized the need to monetarily compensate the president pro tempore for his service, particularly during a vacancy in the vice presidency, it was less comfortable with allowing the position to influence the Senate's legislative affairs. Beginning in 1820, the Senate allowed the president pro tempore to name other senators to perform the duties of the chair in his absence, but limited that service by terminating it with adjournment. By 1856, the *Congressional Globe* identified members who served as presiding officers in the absence of a president pro tempore.

Perhaps the most important role gained by the president pro tempore during this time period was the selection of members and chairmen of the Senate's standing committees. The 1820s brought a new level of activity to the Senate, as monumental debates over territorial expansion and the future of slavery in America played out on a daily basis in the Senate Chamber. The resulting bustle of business prompted senators to seek more efficient ways to complete Senate tasks. In 1823, the Senate abandoned a system of electing each individual chairman and members of a committee, choosing instead the time-saving device of providing that "all committees shall be appointed by the presiding officer of this house." At the time, this seemed to be a logical extension of the president pro tempore's duties. Since the vice presidency had been vacant several times in recent years, or held by someone who took little interest in the business of the Senate, a more visible role for the president pro tempore had emerged. Only once between 1823 and 1825, however, did the new rule come into play for the president pro tempore, when John Gaillard made committee assignments in the absence of Vice President Daniel Tompkins.

When Vice President John C. Calhoun took office in December of 1825, he assumed a more active, partisan role in Senate proceedings, including exercising the right, as presiding officer, to appoint committee members. Senators objected to the partisanship of his committee appointments. They also balked at the idea of the vice president—not an elected member of the Senate—assuming a power they had expected to be exercised by the president pro tempore. (Since Calhoun presided regularly, the Senate had not elected a president pro tempore.) Senators sought to regain power over committees and on April 15, 1826, reestablished the old system of the full Senate electing committee members.



President pro tempore Hugh Lawson White was deprived of the power to make committees assignments when the Senate changed its rules in 1833.

In 1828, with Calhoun still in office, the Senate gave this power only to the president pro tempore, specifically denying it to the vice president. In 1833, as in 1825, the removal of that power from the president pro tempore was a political decision. With Andrew Jackson in the White House and newly elected Vice President Martin Van Buren scheduled to preside over the Senate, the anti-Jackson faction within the Senate successfully maneuvered to have committee assignments again made by Senate election, depriving President pro tempore Hugh Lawson White,

who was perceived to be a Jackson man, of that privilege. The power of the president pro tempore to influence committee assignments was reinstated again in 1837, but came to an end in 1845. When the 29th

Congress convened in December 1845, senators refused to allow Vice President George M. Dallas to appoint committee members on his own initiative. Instead, they gave the choice of committee assignments to the Senate's two party caucuses. After that time, vice presidents and presidents pro tempore formally made appointments, but only with the consent of the party caucus.

By the eve of the Civil War, the office of the president pro tempore had evolved into a position of institutional prestige, with additional compensation for service to the Senate, but with only limited power over the Senate's legislative business. As a neutral presiding officer, the president pro tempore became a significant fixture in daily management of Senate business, maintaining order and decorum in the Senate Chamber, particularly during long vice presidential absences and vacancies. The Senate's president pro tempore also provided continuity to the national government, standing ready to advance to the presidency should the need arise.



1. John Langdon (New Hampshire)

President Pro Tempore: 1789, 1792, 1793

Senate Service: March 4, 1789, to March 3, 1801

Party: Pro-Administration; Anti-Administration; Democratic Republican

Born: Portsmouth, New Hampshire, June 26, 1741

Died: Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 18, 1819

Education: Attended Portsmouth, New Hampshire, grammar school; apprenticed as a clerk.

Non-Senate Career: John Langdon worked as a merchant and shipbuilder and became a member of the New Hampshire general court in 1775. That same year, he was made a delegate to the Continental Congress, and served again in 1776 when he was appointed Continental prize agent for New Hampshire. In 1776 he became speaker of the state house of representatives, and then state senator in 1784. He was elected president of New Hampshire in 1785 and again in 1788 and served as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. After serving in the United States Senate, he again served in the New Hampshire legislature, from 1801 to 1805, and then became governor of New Hampshire, serving from 1805 to 1808, and again from 1810 to 1811, with the exception of 1809. Langdon declined the nomination as a candidate for vice president of the United States in 1812.

Observations: "[Langdon] apparently received this recognition not because he was looked to for leadership but because of his contributions to the revolutionary cause and his gracious and sociable manner. He appeared to good advantage in the Presiding Officer's chair, where he was described as 'attentive, prompt and impartial."

~ U.S. Congress, Senate, The United States Senate, 1787–1801: A Dissertation on the First Fourteen Years of the Upper Legislative Body, by Roy Swanstrom, S. Doc. 100–31, 100th Cong., 1st sess., 1988, 258.

"He was a true patriot and a good man, with a noble way of thinking and a frankness and warmth of heart that made his friends love him much, as it did me in a high degree, and disarmed his enemies of some of the asperities indulged toward others."

~ James Madison on John Langdon, quoted in Charles R. Corning, John Langdon (Concord: Rumford Printing Company, 1903), 30.



2. Richard Henry Lee (Virginia)

President Pro Tempore: 1792

Senate Service: March 4, 1789, to October 8, 1792

Party: Anti-Administration

Born: "Stratford," Westmoreland County, Virginia, January 20, 1732

Died: "Chantilly," Westmoreland County, Virginia, June 19, 1794

Education: Received private instruction; attended Wakefield Academy (in England).

Non-Senate Career: Richard Henry Lee became a justice of the peace for Westmoreland County in 1757. He played a key role in events that led to the American Revolution, serving in Virginia's house of burgesses from 1758 to 1775, and as a member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1779. Lee sponsored the resolution calling for American independence, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and drafted the first national Thanksgiving Day proclamation issued by Congress at York, Pennsylvania, on October 31, 1777. He was a member of Virginia's house of delegates from 1780 to 1784, serving as speaker in 1781, and again of the Continental Congress from 1784 to 1785 and in 1787, serving as president of the Congress in 1784. Although chosen as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and also to the state ratifying convention in 1788, he declined to serve because of poor health. He retired from public life after serving as one of Virginia's first two U.S. senators.

Observations: "Lee exerted a powerful influence over the work and deliberations of the Senate. He was a good speaker, sometimes referring to prepared notes, according to Maclay. . . . His reputation as an experienced legislator preceded him, and despite his antifederalism he was immediately appointed to committees on rules, certification of the presidential election, and the inaugural ceremonies. By the end of the First Congress, Lee had been assigned to no fewer than thirty-two committees."

~ Kenneth R. Bowling, Charlene Bangs Bickford, William Charles DiGiacomantonio, and Helen E. Veit, eds., Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States of America, March 4, 1789–March 3, 1791, vol. 14, Debates in the House of Representatives, Third Session, December 1790–March 1791: Biographies of Members (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 873.

Further Reading: Lee, Richard Henry. The Letters of Richard Henry Lee. Edited by James Ballagh. 1911–1914. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970; Chitwood, Oliver. Richard Henry Lee, Statesman of the Revolution. Morgantown: University Library, 1967.



3. Ralph Izard (South Carolina)

President Pro Tempore: 1794

Senate Service: March 4, 1789, to March 3, 1795

Party: Pro-Administration

Born: "The Elms," near Charleston, South Carolina, January 23, 1741 or 1742

Died: Near Charleston, South Carolina, May 30, 1804

Education: Pursued classical studies in Hackney, England.

Non-Senate Career: After his schooling in England, Ralph Izard returned to South Carolina in 1764 to manage his plantations. He moved to London in 1771 and then to Paris after October 1776, intending to return to America. He was elected by Congress in 1777 to serve as commissioner to the Court of Tuscany, and although he was never received by that government, he remained in France until 1780. From 1782 to 1783, he served as a delegate from South Carolina to the Continental Congress. After the war, he served in the state legislature before becoming one of South Carolina's first two United States senators. Following his Senate service, he retired from public life to care for his estates.

Observations: "But he was not long allowed to remain in retirement; as—on the formation of the Federal Government—he was chosen Senator for six years. He once more embarked on the stormy sea of Politics—where his love of freedom—his liberal mind strict integrity—and unflinching rectitude, were fully evinced—and though he differed in opinion with many of his contemporaries—he never lost the respect of any."

~ Written by his daughter, Anne Izard Deas, Ralph Izard, Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard of South Carolina: From the Year 1774 to 1804, with a Short Memoir, ed. Anne Deas, 1844 Reprint (New York: AMS Press, 1976), xii.

"Notwithstanding a mild speech impediment, Izard also contributed heavily to deliberations on the floor. A significant proportion of his speeches and comments reflect a concern for protecting and enhancing senatorial prerogative. His aristocratic upbringing and experience in the courts of Europe influenced him significantly. He understood better than many the function of ceremony as a vehicle of power and prestige."

~ Kenneth R. Bowling, Charlene Bangs Bickford, William Charles DiGiacomantonio, and Helen E. Veit, eds., Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States of America, March 4, 1789-March 3, 1791, vol. 14, Debate in the House of Representatives, Third Session, December 1790-March 1791: Biographies of Members (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 831–2.

Further Reading: Izard, Ralph. Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard of South Carolina, From the Year 1774 to 1804, with a Short Memoir. Edited by Anne Deas. 1844. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1976.



4. Henry Tazewell (Virginia)

President Pro Tempore: 1795

Senate Service: December 29, 1794, to January 24, 1799

Party: Anti-Administration; Democratic Republican

Born: Brunswick County, Virginia, November 27, 1753

Died: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 24, 1799

Education: Graduated from the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1770; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Henry Tazewell was admitted to the bar and began practicing law in Brunswick County in 1773. In 1775, he became a member of Virginia's general assembly, where he represented Brunswick until 1778. During that time, he served as a delegate to the state constitutional convention of 1775 and 1776. In 1778, he moved to Williamsburg and was again elected to the general assembly, where he served until 1785. During the Revolutionary War, he raised and was commissioned captain of a troop of cavalry. He was a judge on the state supreme court from 1785 to 1793, serving as chief justice from 1789 to 1793, and was then appointed to the high court of appeals in 1793. He served in the U.S. Senate until his death. Henry Tazewell's son, Littleton Waller Tazewell, also served in the U.S. Senate and was elected president pro tempore in 1832.

Observations: "Henry Tazewell... was elected president pro tempore in February 1795. The remarkable fact here is that the forty-one-year-old Tazewell had only entered the Senate two months earlier, in December 1794! Moreover, he was a Jeffersonian Republican at a time when the Senate was controlled by the Federalist party. Could anyone imagine the election today of a young freshman member of the minority party as president pro tempore? It would be inconceivable!"

~ U.S. Congress, Senate, *The Senate*, 1789–1989, *Addresses on the History of the United States Senate*, by Robert C. Byrd, vol. 2, S. Doc. 100–20, 100th Cong., 1st sess., 1991, 170.

Henry Tazewell was "among the most distinguished of our early statesmen, who from his youth, in the sunshine of peace and amid the storms of revolution, had developed all his faculties to the service of his country; and if the light of his glory in the long lapse of years has seemed to grow dim, it is a subject of gratulation [satisfaction] that it has been lost, as his fondest wishes would have led him to lose it, in the blaze which the genius of his only son has kindled about his name."

~ C. W. Tazewell, ed., *Henry Tazewell: Most Popular Virginian of His Day* (Virginia Beach: W. S. Dawson Co., 1992), 7.



5. Samuel Livermore (New Hampshire)

President Pro Tempore: 1796, 1799

Senate Service: March 4, 1793, to June 12, 1801

Party: Pro-Administration; Federalist

Born: Waltham, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, May 14, 1732

Died: Holderness, Grafton County, New Hampshire, May 18, 1803

Education: Attended Waltham, Massachusetts, schools; graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1752; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Upon his admission to the bar in 1756, Samuel Livermore began practicing law in Waltham, Massachusetts. He moved to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1758 and was elected to the New Hampshire general assembly in 1768. He served in the general assembly until 1769, when he was appointed a judge-advocate in the admiralty court, and then attorney general. He moved to Holderness, New Hampshire, in 1775 where he worked as a state attorney for three years. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1780 to 1782 and again from 1785 to 1786. In 1782, he became chief justice of the New Hampshire state supreme court, a position he held until 1789. He served as a member of the state constitutional convention in 1788 and was president of the convention in 1791. He was elected in 1789 to the U.S. House of Representatives where he served as chairman of the Committee on Elections from 1791 to 1793.

Observations: Samuel Livermore "rose, and continued in office, by the force of talents, and the reputation of integrity, and not by the mildness of his temper, or the amenity of his manners. He was a man of strong intellectual powers, of great shrewdness—possessed much wit, and had a vein for severe satire."

~ William Plumer on Samuel Livermore, from James McLachlan, Princetonians: A Biographical Directory, 1748–1768 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976–1991), 1: 52.

Further Reading: Corning, Charles R. Samuel Livermore: Address Before the Grafton and Coös Bar Association. Concord, NH: Republican Press Association, 1888.



6. William Bingham (Pennsylvania)

President Pro Tempore: 1797

Senate Service: March 4, 1795, to March 3, 1801

Party: Federalist

Born: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 8, 1752

Died: Bath, England, February 7, 1804

Education: Graduated from Philadelphia College in 1768.

Non-Senate Career: In 1776, William Bingham was appointed by the Continental Congress as a commercial agent to Martinique, and afterwards as consul at St. Pierre, in the West Indies, from 1777 to 1780. After returning to America, he served in the Continental Congress from 1786 to 1788. He was a member of Pennsylvania's house of representatives from 1790 to 1791, serving as speaker in 1791, and then became president of the state senate, serving from 1794 to 1795. Following his U.S. Senate service, he withdrew from public life and engaged in the management of his extensive estates. He moved in 1801 to Bath, England, and resided with his daughter until his death.

Observations: "He was pleasant in his manners, amiable in his temper, liberal but said not [to] be charitable."

~ Benjamin Rush, upon hearing of death of Bingham, 1804. Quoted in Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969), 429.

"Mr. Bingham is so well versed in the Politics of this place, and South of it, and so well acquainted with the movements in both houses of Congress, that it would be a Work of Supererogation in me, to give you the details."

~ President George Washington, June 9, 1796. Quoted in Robert C. Alberts, The Golden Voyage (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969), 285.



7. William Bradford (Rhode Island)

President Pro Tempore: 1797

Senate Service: March 4, 1793, to October 1797

Party: Pro-Administration; Federalist

Born: Plympton, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, November 4, 1729

Died: Bristol, Rhode Island, July 6, 1808

Education: Studied medicine in Hingham, Massachusetts; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: William Bradford was admitted to the Rhode Island bar in 1767 after abandoning the practice of medicine for the law. He practiced law in Bristol, Rhode Island. Bradford was a member of the Rhode Island house of representatives for several terms between 1761 and 1803, serving as speaker on several occasions. He served on the Rhode Island Committee of Correspondence in 1773 and was deputy governor of Rhode Island from 1775 until 1778. In 1776, he was elected as a delegate to the Continental Congress, but did not attend. Following his U.S. Senate service, he retired to his home in Bristol, Rhode Island.

Observations: Bradford "received a liberal education, and later studied medicine at Hingham, Mass., under Dr. E. Hersey. He practised medicine for a time at Warren, R.I., later removing to Bristol, R.I., where he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and soon became one of the most eminent practitioners of the province. He took an active part in Revolutionary affairs."

~ National Cyclopedia of American Biography.



8. Jacob Read (South Carolina)

President Pro Tempore: 1797

Senate Service: March 4, 1795, to March 3, 1801

Party: Federalist

Born: "Hobcaw" plantation in Christ Church Parish, near Charleston, South Carolina, 1752

Died: Charleston, South Carolina, July 17, 1816

Education: Completed preparatory studies; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Jacob Read was admitted to the South Carolina bar in 1773. He studied in England from 1773 to 1776, joining other Americans in London in 1774 in a petition against the Boston port bill. He returned to America in 1776 and served South Carolina in various military and civil capacities during the Revolutionary War. He spent 1780 and 1781 as a prisoner of the British in St. Augustine. After his release, he served in South Carolina's state assembly in 1782, and on the privy council in 1783. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1783 and served until 1785. After serving in the South Carolina house of representatives as speaker from 1787 to 1794, he was elected to the U.S. Senate. He ran unsuccessfully for a second Senate term and retired from public life.

Observations: "As a member of the South Carolina [Ratification] Convention of 1788, [Read] showed Federalist trends in opposing the motions that consideration of the federal constitution be postponed and that re-eligibility of the president be deemed dangerous to liberty. Having voted for ratification, he moved the thanks of the convention to the South Carolina framers of the constitution."

~ Dictionary of American Biography.



9. Theodore Sedgwick (Massachusetts)

President Pro Tempore: 1798

Senate Service: June 11, 1796, to March 3, 1799

Party: Federalist

Born: West Hartford, Connecticut, May 9, 1746

Died: Boston, Massachusetts, January 24, 1813

Education: Attended Yale College; studied theology and law.

Non-Senate Career: Theodore Sedgwick was admitted to the bar in 1766 and practiced law in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. During the Revolutionary War, he served in the 1776 expedition against Canada. He was a member of the Massachusetts state house of representatives for several terms between 1780 and 1788, and served as speaker. He was also a member of the state senate from 1784 until 1785. He served as a member of the Continental Congress in 1785 and 1786, and again in 1788. In 1788, he was a delegate to the Massachusetts state convention that adopted the federal Constitution. Sedgwick was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served from March 4, 1789, until June 1796. Following his U.S. Senate service, he again served in the U.S. House from March 4, 1799, until March 3, 1801. He was the Speaker of the House from 1799 to 1801. In 1802, he became a judge of the supreme court of Massachusetts, where he served until his death.

Observations: "Mr. Sedgewick [sic] was by 12 Votes placed in the Chair as President pro tem—From the symptoms he exhibits I fear his head, of which you know he has been long complaining, will derive no advantage from this elevation."

~ Senator John Brown, June 29, 1798, quoted in "The Letters of Honorable John Brown to the Presidents of the United States," Register of Kentucky Historical Society 35 (January 1937): 17.

Further Reading: Welch, Richard. Theodore Sedgwick, Federalist: A Political Portrait. Middletown, CT: Weslevan University Press, 1965.



10. John Laurance (New York)

President Pro Tempore: 1798

Senate Service: November 9, 1796, to August 1800

Party: Federalist

Born: Falmouth, England, 1750

Died: New York City, November 11, 1810

Education: Studied law.

Non-Senate Career: John Laurance was admitted to the bar in 1772 and began practicing law in New York City. He served in the Revolution as a commissioned officer and was promoted to judge advocategeneral in 1777, serving until 1782. He became regent of the University of the State of New York in 1784 and served as a trustee of Columbia College from 1784 until 1810. After serving in the state assembly in 1783 and 1785, he became a delegate to the Continental Congress from 1785 to 1787. He was a member of New York's state senate from 1788 until 1789, when he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, serving from April 8, 1789, to March 3, 1793. In May 1794, President George Washington appointed him United States judge of the district of New York, where he served until November 8, 1796, resigning to become a U.S. senator.

Observations: "A consistent Federalist in Congress, Laurance supported the Hamiltonian program in its entirety. He was one of the most active and vocal members, and sat on thirty-eight committees, including those that dealt with appropriations, import duties, Indian trade, naturalization, salaries, the seat of government, and Vermont statehood.... Despite looking after his constituents's interests, Laurance held to a broad view of legislative responsibility. In a congressional speech he said: 'Every member on this floor ought to consider himself the representative of the whole Union, and not the particular district which had chosen him.' . . . Laurance was highly regarded for his legal expertise. Of dignified presence and a powerful debater, he had a key role in achieving success for the Federalist program in Congress during the administrations of George Washington and John Adams."

~ American National Biography.



11. James Ross (Pennsylvania)

President Pro Tempore: 1799

Senate Service: April 24, 1794, to March 3, 1803

Party: Pro-Administration; Federalist

Born: Near Delta, Peachbottom Township, York County, Pennsylvania, July 12, 1762

Died: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 27, 1847

Education: Pursued Classical studies near Delta, Peachbottom Township, York County, Pennsylvania; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: When he was just 18, James Ross worked as an instructor of Latin and Greek at what is now Washington and Jefferson College, in Washington, Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the bar in 1784 and practiced law in Washington County and later Allegheny County. During the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, President Washington appointed Ross to be a federal commissioner to negotiate with the insurgents. He served as a delegate to Pennsylvania's constitutional convention from 1789 to 1790. After his Senate career, he returned to the practice of law and was also heavily engaged in land speculation.

Observations: "Emerging [in the 1790s] as a major leader of the Federalist party, Ross was, in many respects, an advocate of Hamiltonian ideologies, for he was an Anglophile and favored fostering mercantile interests and westward expansion. . . . His assertive leadership did not go unnoticed. In 1799 a ship in Pittsburgh was named for him, and he was elected to serve as president pro tempore of the Senate. Ross contributed significantly to the Federalist legacy. He backed the national government during seditious times, was an effective strategist in the Senate, and promoted western business interests. He was important to the development of Pittsburgh and served as the political and legal leader of the city's prominent Federalist families."

~ American National Biography.

Further Reading: Brownson, James I. The Life and Times of Senator James Ross. Washington, PA: Observer Job Rooms, 1910.



12. Uriah Tracy (Connecticut)

President Pro Tempore: 1800

Senate Service: October 13, 1796, to July 19, 1807

Party: Federalist

Born: Franklin, Connecticut, February 2, 1755

Died: Washington, D.C., July 19, 1807

Education: Graduated from Yale College in 1778; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Uriah Tracy was admitted to the bar in 1781 and practiced law in Litchfield, Connecticut. A member of the state's general assembly from 1788 to 1793, he served as speaker in 1793. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in April 1793, and served until his resignation, effective October 13, 1796, when he became a U.S. senator. He also served as state's attorney for Litchfield County during part of his U.S. Senate tenure (1794–1799).

Observations: In Congress, Tracy "soon became distinguished, and his great reasoning powers conspicuous on every important question. On referring to his speeches, they will be found remarkable for their solidity and point. . . . As a companion he was instructive and agreeable. His observations in company, on passing events, and the political system of the day, were always profound and generally seasoned with lively anecdote. His thoughts on all occasions seemed to come from him without premeditation, and under a form that alarmed no one's pride or self sufficiency. His humour, too, was easy and natural; like the lightning of a summer's evening, which finishes without thunder, it would shew the object without wounding the person."

~ The Connecticut Courant, August 12, 1807.



13. John Eager Howard (Maryland)

President Pro Tempore: 1800

Senate Service: November 30, 1796, to March 3, 1803

Party: Federalist

Born: "Belvedere," near Baltimore, Maryland, June 4, 1752

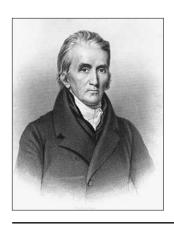
Died: "Belvedere," near Baltimore, Maryland, October 12, 1827

Education: Privately tutored.

Non-Senate Career: John E. Howard served in the military throughout the Revolutionary War, beginning as a captain and holding the rank of colonel when peace was declared. He received a medal and the thanks of Congress for gallantry at the 1781 Battle of Cowpens. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1788 and served as the governor of Maryland from 1789 to 1791. He was also a member of the state senate from 1791 to 1795. During his U.S. Senate tenure, Howard was offered the position of secretary of war by President George Washington, but he declined. He also declined a commission as brigadier general in the expected war with France in 1798. In 1816, he ran unsuccessfully as a Federalist candidate for vice president of the United States.

Observations: "Amidst the frantic agitations of party, which for a series of years convulsed the nation, he almost alone in his generation, won the universal confidence. The most inveterate popular prejudices seemed to yield to the affectionate conviction of his impregnable honesty, his unblenching love of country, and that personal independence which neither party zeal could warp from its course, nor passion subvert, nor faction alarm; and in their bitterest exacerbations, his fellow-citizens of all ranks turned towards him as to a fountain of undefiled patriotism."

~ A Memoir of the Late Col. John Eager Howard, reprinted from the Baltimore Gazette of Monday, October 16, 1827 (Kelly, Hedian & Piet, pub., 1863), 7–8.



14. James Hillhouse (Connecticut)

President Pro Tempore: 1801

Senate Service: December 1796, to June 10, 1810

Party: Federalist

Born: Montville, Connecticut, October 20, 1754

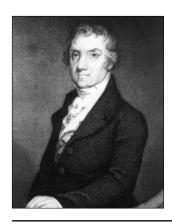
Died: New Haven, Connecticut, December 29, 1832

Education: Attended Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, Connecticut; graduated from Yale College in 1773; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: James Hillhouse was admitted to the bar in 1775 and practiced law in New Haven, Connecticut. He served in the Revolutionary War and in 1779 was captain of the governor's foot guards when the British invaded New Haven. He was a member of the state house of representatives from 1780 to 1785. In 1786 and again in 1788, he was chosen as a delegate to the Continental Congress, but he did not attend. He served in Connecticut's upper house, the state council, from 1789 until 1790, when he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He served in the House from March 4, 1791, until his resignation in the fall of 1796 to become a U.S. senator. Following his Senate service, he was a member of the Hartford Convention in 1814 and treasurer of Yale College from 1782 until his death.

Observations: "He was not a visionary statesman, like those who in their closets frame ingenious schemes of government for utopian commonwealths. Nor was he one of those who have a passion for pulling down the fabric of existing institutions for the sake of some newfangled reconstruction. His genius was conservative rather than revolutionary, and practical rather than speculative. . . . He had that sort of natural leadership among his equals; that special faculty of influence over men, that power of winning their full confidence and of making them willing to follow where he led, which is given only in nature's patent of nobility.... What was admired and honored in James Hillhouse was, not the man's extraordinary ability—not his eloquence or his wit—not the depth and reach of his learning, or the acuteness and power of his logic,—but the man himself."

~ Leonard Bacon, Sketch of the Life and Public Services of Hon. James Hillhouse of New Haven (New Haven: n.p., 1860), 25, 42-43.



15. Abraham Baldwin (Georgia)

President Pro Tempore: 1801, 1802

Senate Service: March 4, 1799, to March 4, 1807

Party: Democratic Republican

Born: North Guilford, Connecticut, November 22, 1754

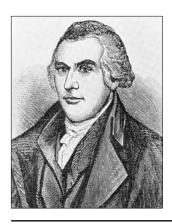
Died: Washington, D.C., March 4, 1807

Education: Attended private schools; graduated from Yale College in 1772; studied theology at Yale College and was licensed to preach in 1775; studied law during his service in the army.

Non-Senate Career: Abraham Baldwin worked as a tutor at Yale College from 1775 until 1779. He then became an army chaplain in the Second Connecticut Brigade of the Revolutionary Army. In 1783, he was admitted to the bar and practiced law in Fairfield County, Connecticut. He soon moved to Georgia and continued to practice law in that state. In 1785, he became a member of the Georgia state house of representatives. He was the originator of the plan for, and author of, the charter of the University of Georgia and served as president of the university from 1786 until 1801. He subsequently served as chairman of the university's board of trustees until his death in 1807. He served as a member of the Continental Congress in 1785, 1787, and 1788. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. He was elected to represent Georgia as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives in the First Congress and served in that body from March 4, 1789, until March 4, 1799, when he became a U.S. senator.

Observations: "In 1801 when Vice President Aaron Burr was absent, the Senate elected Baldwin as its presiding officer (President pro tempore) despite the fact that he had been a Senator for only two years. The reputation for ability and fairness in parliamentary proceedings that Baldwin had gained in the House of Representatives followed him into the Senate. He had become the 'Old Congress-Man.'"

~ Albert B. Saye, quoted in E. Merton Coulter, *Abraham Baldwin: Patriot, Educator, and Founding Father* (Arlington, VA: Vandamere Press, 1987), viii.



16. Stephen Row Bradley (Vermont)

President Pro Tempore: 1802-1803, 1808-1809

Senate Service: October 17, 1791, to March 3, 1795; October 15, 1801, to March 3, 1813

Party: Anti-Administration; Democratic Republican *Born:* Wallingford, Connecticut, February 20, 1754 *Died:* Walpole, New Hampshire, December 9, 1830

Education: Graduated from Yale College in 1775; received a MA degree from Yale in 1778; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: After graduating from Yale in 1775, Stephen Row Bradley became captain of a volunteer company during the Revolutionary War and served intermittently from 1775 to 1779. He was admitted to the Vermont bar in 1779 and practiced law in Westminster, Vermont. In 1780 he became state's attorney for Cumberland County, and then served as register of probate for Westminster from 1781 to 1791. He was appointed judge of Windham County in 1783 and represented Westminster in the general assembly in 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785, 1788, and 1790, serving as speaker in 1785. He was appointed associate judge of the superior court of Vermont in 1788. Upon the admission of Vermont as a state into the Union, he was elected to the United States Senate. He was an unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1795, and became a member of the city council of Westminster in 1798. Following his second tenure in the U.S. Senate, he retired from public life and returned to Westminster. In 1818 he moved to Walpole, New Hampshire.

Observations: "Few men have more companionable talents, a greater share of social cheerfulness, a more inexhaustible flow of wit, or a larger portion of unaffected urbanity."

~ John A. Graham, quoted in Walter H. Crockett, ed., *Vermonters: A Book of Biographies* (Brattleboro: Stephen Daye Press, 1931), 32.

Further Reading: Bradley, Stephen Row. Vermont's Appeal to the Candid and Impartial World. Hartford: Hudson Goodwin, 1780.



17. John Brown (Kentucky)

President Pro Tempore: 1803, 1804

Senate Service: June 18, 1792, to March 3, 1805

Party: Anti-Administration; Democratic Republican

Born: Staunton, Virginia, September 12, 1757

Died: Frankfort, Kentucky, August 29, 1837

Education: Attended Washington College (now Washington and Lee University), Lexington, Virginia, and Princeton College; completed his studies at William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: In 1776, John Brown enlisted as a private in the Revolutionary Army. He was admitted to the bar in 1782 and practiced law in Frankfort, Kentucky. From 1784 until 1788, he served as a member of the Virginia senate from the district of Kentucky. Brown was a delegate from that district to the Continental Congress in 1787 and 1788. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Virginia and served from March 4, 1789, until June 1, 1792, when that portion of Virginia, which is now Kentucky, was admitted as a state. Following his U.S. Senate service, he resumed the practice of law in Frankfort, Kentucky.

Observations: "In 1784 [John Brown] was elected to represent Kentucky in the Virginia Assembly and in 1787 was selected by it as one of its representatives to the Continental Congress. In this congress he labored diligently for separation from Virginia, for statehood in the Union, for effective protection against the Indians, and for some arrangement with Spain for the free navigation of the Mississippi. He was a member of the Virginia Convention to consider the ratification of the Federal Constitution, and in 1789 he was elected to represent the District of Kentucky in Congress. Re-elected in 1791, he resigned in 1792 to become one of the first two senators from the newly-admitted State. Again elected to the United States Senate in 1799, he retired in 1805 to private life. When he died in 1837 he was the sole surviving member of the Continental Congress."

~ Huntley Dupre, "Three Letters of George Nicholas to John Brown," The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society 41 (January 1943): 2.

Further Reading: Sprague, Stuart S. "Senator John Brown of Kentucky, 1757-1837: A Political Biography." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1972; Warren, Elizabeth. "John Brown and His Influence on Kentucky Politics: 1784–1805." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1937.

18. Jesse Franklin (North Carolina)

President Pro Tempore: 1804

No Image Available

Senate Service: March 4, 1799, to March 3, 1805; March 4, 1807, to March 3, 1813

Party: Democratic Republican

Born: Orange County, Virginia, March 24, 1760

Died: Surry County, North Carolina, August 31, 1823

Education: Left school before he reached the age of 12, but read extensively.

Non-Senate Career: Jesse Franklin, a major during the Revolutionary War, served in North Carolina's house of commons from 1793 to 1794, in the U.S. House of Representatives from March 4, 1795, to March 3, 1797, and again in the state house from 1797 to 1798. After one term in the United States Senate, he served in the state senate from 1805 to 1806. After a second Senate term, he was appointed a commissioner to treat with the Chickasaw Indians in 1817 and was governor of North Carolina from 1820 to 1821.

Observations: Franklin "in 1798 was elected to the United States Senate, serving from 1799 to 1805. During the impeachment trial of Judge [John] Pickering, he was chosen president *pro tempore*.... Franklin voted for the conviction of Pickering and also for the conviction of Justice Samuel Chase.... He spoke seldom in the Senate, but was active and valuable in committee work, and won nationally the reputation he had at home for hard practical sense, straightforward simplicity, and fine integrity."

~ Dictionary of American Biography.



19. Joseph Inslee Anderson (Tennessee)

President Pro Tempore: 1805

Senate Service: September 26, 1797, to March 3, 1815

Party: Democratic Republican

Born: Near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 5, 1757

Died: Washington, D.C., April 17, 1837

Education: Studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Joseph Anderson served in the military throughout the Revolutionary War, spending much of this time as a regimental paymaster, and attained the rank of brevet major in the Continental Army. After leaving the military service, he was admitted to the bar and practiced law in Delaware for several years. In 1791, he was appointed a United States judge for the territory south of the Ohio River. He also served as a member of the first constitutional convention of Tennessee in 1796. After serving a long tenure in the U.S. Senate, President James Madison appointed him to be the first comptroller of the U.S. Treasury, where he served until 1836. He lived in retirement until his death.

Observations: Anderson "served some 15 years, and was about the most active Senator during all that time. He seems to have been a member of all the important committees, and his reports very generally were accepted. Apparently, he kept up with the business of the Senate more accurately than did any other Senator. During the time he was there he was as active as James Madison was in the Constitutional Convention.... I regard Senator Anderson as one of the ablest and most efficient senators Tennessee ever produced. His industry was proverbial. His good sense was a tower of strength to him."

~ Kenneth McKellar, Tennessee Senators (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1942), 118-120.

Further Reading: McMillan, Fay E. "A Biographical Sketch of Joseph Anderson (1759-1837)." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications 2 (1930): 81-93.



20. Samuel Smith (Maryland)

President Pro Tempore: 1805-1807, 1808, 1828, 1829-1831

Senate Service: March 4, 1803, to March 3, 1815; December 17, 1822, to March 3, 1833

Party: Democratic Republican; Crawford Republican/Jacksonian

Born: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, July 27, 1752 *Died:* Baltimore, Maryland, April 22, 1839

Education: Attended a private academy.

Non-Senate Career: Samuel Smith of Maryland served in the Revolutionary War as captain, major, and lieutenant colonel and engaged in the shipping business after the war ended. He was elected to the Maryland house of delegates in 1791, and to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1792, serving from March 4, 1793, to March 3, 1803. At the time of the threatened war with France in 1794, he was appointed brigadier general of militia and commanded Maryland's quota during the Whiskey Rebellion. After serving two terms in the United States Senate, during which he became major general of militia in the defense of Baltimore during the War of 1812, he again served in the U.S. House from January 31, 1816, to December 17, 1822. He served as chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Department of the Treasury (1816–1817), and the House Ways and Means Committee (1817–1822). He resigned his House seat, having been again elected to the U.S. Senate. He was elected mayor of Baltimore, Maryland, following his second U.S. Senate tenure, and served from 1835 to 1838, following which he retired from public life.

Committee Chair: Finance (1823–1833)

Observations: "The convening of the first session of the Ninth Congress in December 1805 was of more than usual interest to Smith. Not only was he concerned about growing French and British interference with American commerce, but also he was worried about his relations with the [Jefferson] administration, which had become strained during the

past year. With some relief he discovered that his position in the Republican party was still secure. Indeed, the Republican majority in the Senate felt no qualms in choosing Smith president pro tem, an honor that surprised and embarrassed him."

~ Frank Cassell, Merchant Congressman in the young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 123.

"It was when General Smith had reached the venerable age of 84 years that a violent riot occurred in Baltimore which threatened to become completely beyond the control of civil authority. The mob became more menacing every minute. Suddenly to the astonishment of all there appeared on the streets the figure of an old man carrying an American flag. It soon became whispered among the rioters that it was 'old Gen. Samuel Smith.' As he approached the lines of the rioters themselves, followed by a limited number of peaceful citizens, the effect was miraculous. The revered personality, carrying in his hand the flag he had served so well, was too much even for a band of indignant rioters. Instead of violence, tranquility was established. Not a thing was done which the rioters felt would shock their beloved old general. Under the spell of this personal veneration the riot was quelled and the city's troubles were averted."

~ The Baltimore Sun, December 17, 1915.

Further Reading: Pancake, John. Samuel Smith and the Politics of Business, 1782–1839. University: University of Alabama Press, 1972.



21. John Milledge (Georgia)

President Pro Tempore: 1809

Senate Service: June 19, 1806, to November 14, 1809

Party: Democratic Republican

Born: Savannah, Georgia, in 1757

Died: Near Augusta, Georgia, February 9, 1818

Education: Attended Bethesda School in Georgia and was privately tutored; studied law in the office of the King's Attorney.

Non-Senate Career: John Milledge was admitted to the bar and practiced law in Savannah, Georgia. During the Revolutionary War, he was one of the patriots who rifled the powder magazine in Savannah in 1775 and later narrowly missed being hanged as a spy. In 1780, he became attorney general of Georgia. He was also a member of the state general assembly for several sessions. Milledge was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served several terms between 1792 and 1802. In the House, he was the chairman of the Committee on Elections from 1801 until 1802. He became the governor of Georgia in 1802 and served until 1806, when he was elected the U.S. Senate. Milledge was also one of the founders of the University of Georgia at Athens.

Observations: In "1806 he was sent to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of James Jackson. Reelected for a full term in 1807, he resigned while president pro tempore in 1809 and retired, respected and admired by all, to a life of elegant leisure."

~ Dictionary of American Biography.

"In 1806 ... Milledge was given the highest office that Georgia can bestow upon one of her sons. For three years he served as United States Senator, part of the time as President Pro Tem. of the Senate, resigning in 1809 and retiring from public life to his home...."

~ Victor Davidson, included in Harriet Milledge Salley, ed., Correspondence of John Milledge, Governor of Georgia, 1802–1806 (Columbia, SC: State Commercial Printing Company, 1949), 16.

Further Reading: Mellichamp, Josephine. Senators From Georgia. Huntsville, AL: Strode Publishers, 1976.



22. Andrew Gregg (Pennsylvania)

President Pro Tempore: 1809

Senate Service: March 4, 1807, to March 4, 1813

Party: Democratic Republican

Born: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, June 10, 1755

Died: Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, May 20, 1835

Education: Attended Reverend John Steel's Latin School in Carlisle and the Academy in Newark, Delaware.

Non-Senate Career: Andrew Gregg served in the Delaware militia during the American Revolution. From 1779 to 1783 he worked as a tutor at the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. He moved to Middletown, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, in 1783 and became a merchant, and then moved to Penn's Valley (now in Bucks County), Pennsylvania, in 1789 to engage in agricultural pursuits. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served from March 4, 1791, to March 3, 1807. After one term as a U.S. senator, he moved to Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, in 1814 and engaged in banking. He served as secretary of state of Pennsylvania from 1820 to 1823 and ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1823.

Observations: "Gregg was well liked and respected by his contemporaries, one of whom called him 'a highly respectable inhabitant of this country, and for many years known as a public man in Pennsylvania and in the United States.' Another praised him for his 'sound and discriminating mind, agreeable and dignified manners, strict regard for truth, and unbending and unyielding honesty.' Gregg was a well-educated, accomplished leader who succeeded in a variety of careers and was a participant in some of the most significant political events of his time."

~ American National Biography.



23. John Gaillard (South Carolina)

President Pro Tempore: 1810, 1814, 1815-1819, 1820-1825

Senate Service: December 6, 1804, to February 26, 1826

Party: Democratic Republican; Crawford Republican; Jacksonian

Born: St. Stephens District, South Carolina, September 5, 1765

Died: Washington, D.C., February 26, 1826

Education: Studied law in England.

Non-Senate Career: John Gaillard, a planter, served as a member of the South Carolina state house of representatives from 1794 until 1796. He was a member of the state senate from 1796 to 1804 and served as president of that body from 1803 until 1804, when he became a member of the United States Senate.

Observations: "It becomes, Mr. President, my melancholy duty to announce to this House, that my respected colleague, the Father of the Senate, is no more. After a faithful and uninterrupted service in this body, of more than twenty-one years, he has fallen, in the fulness of his honors, and in the midst of his usefulness. . . . Mr. Gaillard took his seat in the Senate on the 31st of January, 1805.... In 1810, (when he had been but five years a member,) Mr. Gaillard was elected President pro tempore of the Senate, to which office he was nine times most honorably chosen, having, for a period of fourteen years, presided over the deliberations of this Assembly.... In fulfilling his duties as a Senator, the solidity of his judgment and his dignified and unostentatious deportment, elicited the esteem and commanded the respect of his associates. But it was in the performance of the high duties of the presiding officer of the Senate, (which he discharged for a longer period than has fallen to the lot of any other man) that the conspicuous traits of his character were mostly fully developed. The ease and fidelity with which he fulfilled these duties,—always arduous, and often of the most difficult and delicate nature—his perfect command of temper—exemplary patiencestrict impartiality, and clear discernment—have never been surpassed, and seldom equalled.... So thorough was his acquaintance with Parliamentary forms, and especially with the practice of this House, and such was the confidence reposed in his justice, that his opinion on all questions of order was considered as a binding authority. Though Mr. Gaillard was not in the habit of engaging in debate, yet, when it became necessary for him to explain the grounds of his decision, or to shed the lights of his experience on questions before the Senate, no man could express himself with more simplicity, perspicuity, or force. I know not how better to sum up the merits of the deceased, than in the words of [Nathaniel Macon who] lately declared 'that Mr. Gaillard was designed by nature to preside over such an assembly as this."

~ Senator Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina, U.S. Congress, Senate, Register of Debates, 19th Cong., 1st sess., February 27, 1826, 110–111.



24. John Pope (Kentucky)

President Pro Tempore: 1811

Senate Service: March 4, 1807, to March 4, 1813

Party: Democratic Republican

Born: Prince William County, Virginia, 1770

Died: Washington County, Kentucky, July 12, 1845

Education: Completed preparatory studies; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: John Pope was admitted to the bar and practiced law in Washington, Shelby, and Fayette Counties in Kentucky. He was elected to Kentucky's house of representatives and served in 1802 and again from 1806 to 1807. After one term as a United States senator, he served in the state senate from 1825 to 1829 and became territorial governor of Arkansas from 1829 to 1835. He resumed the practice of law in Springfield, Kentucky, and concluded his public service career as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, serving from March 4, 1837, to March 3, 1843.

Observations: "In the United States Senate, Mr. Pope's talents were displayed with exemplary zeal and brilliancy. During the earlier years of his six-year term he was recognized as one of the leaders of the Republican party in the Senate. In 1810 he was signally honored by being chosen president pro tem of that body."

~ Orval W. Baylor, "The Life and Times of John Pope—1770–1845," *The Filson Club History Quarterly* 15 (April 1941): 61–62.

"Following his short career in the Kentucky legislature, that body elected him to the United States Senate in 1806. A few months after he took office in Washington, he wrote to a friend: 'I have embarked in political life and mean to make a business of it. I occupy much higher ground here both on the scale of talents and republicanism than either you or myself expected; except Breckinridge no man from the West ever had more popularity in Congress.' Whether due to his popularity or his ability as a legislator, Pope's colleagues elevated him to the position of president pro tempore in 1811, an honor rare for first-term senators."

~ George T. Blakey, "Rendezvous with Republicanism: John Pope vs. Henry Clay in 1816," *Indiana History* 62 (September 1966): 234–35.

Further Reading: Baylor, Orval. John Pope, Kentuckian: His Life and Times, 1770–1845. Cynthiana, KY: The Hobson Press, 1943



25. William Harris Crawford (Georgia)

President Pro Tempore: 1812–1813

Senate Service: November 7, 1807, to March 23, 1813

Party: Democratic Republican

Born: Nelson County, Virginia, February 24, 1772

Died: Oglethorpe County, Georgia, September 15, 1834

Education: Received Classical education in a private school and in Richmond Academy, Augusta, Georgia; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: As a young man, William Harris Crawford taught English at the Richmond Academy in Augusta, Georgia. He was admitted to the bar in 1799 and began practicing law in Lexington, Georgia. Later that same year, he was appointed to prepare a digest of the laws of Georgia. He became a member of the state house of representatives and served from 1803 to 1807. Following his service in the United States Senate, he was appointed minister to France and served from 1813 until 1815. He was appointed secretary of war in 1815 and a year later moved to the Treasury Department as secretary of the treasury, where he served until 1825. Upon returning to Georgia in 1827, he was appointed judge of the northern circuit court, a position he held until his death.

Observations: "On March 23 [1812] the Senate adjourned because of the indisposition of the Vice President; the following day Crawford was elected president pro tempore on the first ballot. It is highly probable that Crawford's subordination of partisan politics to issues and the impartiality of his criticism were significant factors in his being chosen.... Clinton had died within a month of his indisposition, and Crawford was elected president pro tempore at the next session. He seems not to have used his position to make partisan appointments or confer personal favors...."

~ Chase C. Mooney, William H. Crawford, 1772-1834 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 28–29.

Further Reading: Green, Philip. The Life of William Crawford. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965.



26. Joseph Bradley Varnum (Massachusetts)

President Pro Tempore: 1813-1814

Senate Service: June 29, 1811, to March 3, 1817

Party: Democratic Republican

Born: Dracut, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, January 29, 1750 or 1751

Died: Dracut, Massachusetts, September 21, 1821

Education: Self-taught.

Non-Senate Career: Joseph Bradley Varnum was a life-long farmer and served in the Revolutionary Army. He represented Dracut in the Massachusetts house of representatives from 1780 to 1785, and northern Middlesex County in the state senate from 1786 to 1795. During that time, he was a delegate to the state convention that ratified the federal Constitution in 1788. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1795 and served from March 4, 1795, to June 29, 1811, when he resigned to join the U.S. Senate. He was chairman of the House Committee on Elections from 1797 to 1799 and Speaker of the House from 1807 to 1811. After his U.S. Senate service, he became a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1820 and a member of the state senate, where he served from 1817 until his death.

Committee Chair: Militia (1815–1817)

Observations: "Joseph Bradley Varnum was one of the patriots of the Revolution, one of the builders of our present form of government. He served in the army that won our independence; in the legislature of his State, which fed the fires of patriotism and kept alive the spirit of liberty in the hearts of the people; in the National House of Representatives, where he was twice elected Speaker, and in the United States Senate, where he served one term as president pro tem. Then served the people of Massachusetts as Chief Justice of one of its major courts. In every place he served well."

~ William Henry Smith, Speakers of the House of Representatives of the United States (Baltimore, MD: Simon J. Gaeng, 1928), 47.



27. James Barbour (Virginia)

President Pro Tempore: 1819

Senate Service: January 2, 1815, to March 7, 1825

Party: Anti-Democrat/Whig

Born: "Frascati," near Gordonsville, Orange County, Virginia, June 10, 1775

Died: Barboursville, Orange County, Virginia, June 7, 1842

Education: Attended the common schools; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: James Barbour was admitted to the bar in 1794 in Orange County, Virginia. He was deputy sheriff of Orange County before serving several terms in the Virginia house of delegates between 1796 and 1812. He was speaker of that body from 1809 to 1812. In 1812, he was elected governor of Virginia, a position he held until 1814. Following his U.S. Senate service, he served as secretary of war under President John Quincy Adams. In 1828, he became United States minister to England and served until 1829. He was chairman of the Whig National Convention in 1839 and also was the founder of the Orange Humane Society, for the education of poor children.

Committee Chair: Foreign Relations (1817–1821, 1823–1825); District of Columbia (1821–1823)

Observations: "Barbour also enjoyed the confidence of his colleagues in the Senate, who in 1819 elected him to the position of president pro tempore.... Barbour's influence in the Senate rested primarily on two qualities: his capacity for hard work in committee, where he demonstrated both an understanding of complex issues and a willingness to engage in the give and take of practical politics, and his effectiveness in debate.... He loved the long roll and thunder of rhetoric, fashioned somewhat on the Burkean model. Possessing that dramatic instinct and romantic imagination common to the actor and the orator, he sought splendid imagery and classical allusions. His brother, Philip, observed that he could 'clothe a beggarly idea in robes of royalty and call down the lightning of heaven to kill a gnat.'... To many who heard him speak, Barbour was 'a giant in language,' an orator in the best tradition who, even in his old age, could speak extemporaneously for five hours and could deliver, by the admission of his opponent, 'the ablest speech ever heard from the lips of any man."

~ Charles D. Lowery, *James Barbour, A Jeffersonian Republican* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984), 104–105.



28. Nathaniel Macon (North Carolina)

President Pro Tempore: 1826–1827

Senate Service: December 13, 1815, to November 14, 1828

Party: Democratic Republican; Crawford Republican; Jacksonian

Born: Near Warrenton, Warren County, North Carolina, December 17, 1757

Died: 'Buck Spring,' near Macon, Warren County, North Carolina, June 29, 1837

Education: Pursued classical studies and attended the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University).

Non-Senate Career: Nathaniel Macon served in the Revolutionary War and was elected to the North Carolina state senate in 1781, 1782, and 1784. After moving to a plantation on the Roanoke River, he was elected in 1785 to the Continental Congress but declined to serve. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from March 4, 1791, to December 13, 1815, where he served as chairman of the House Committee on Revisal and Unfinished Business from 1797 to 1799, the House Committee on Claims from 1799 to 1801, and the House Committee on Public Expenditures from 1813 to 1815, and as Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1801 to 1807. Following service in the U.S. Senate, he ran for the vice presidency, unsuccessfully, in 1825. In 1835 he was chosen president of the state constitutional convention and became a presidential elector on the Democratic ticket in 1836.

Committee Chair: Foreign Relations (1817–1819, 1825–1828); Audit and Control of the Contingent Expenses (1821–1823)

Observations: "Yet how many Southerners have ever had a more distinguished career! Not only a Congressman, but Speaker of the House! Not only a Senator, but President of the Senate! Not only the friend and advisor of Jefferson, Jackson, and other Presidents, but a man who twice (or thrice) declined Cabinet positions, and received the electoral vote of so discriminating a state as Virginia for Vice-President! And not only a leader in the convention that remade the Constitution of his state in 1835, but the chief of that convention!"

~ Clarence Poe, "Nathaniel Macon, The Cincinnatus of America," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 37 (January 1938): 12.

In "what may well be deemed idiosyncratic in these days, he was punctual in the performance of all his minor duties to the Senate, attending its sittings to the moment, attending all the committees to which he was appointed, attending all the funerals of the members and officers of the Houses, always in time at every place where duty required him."

~ Senator Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1871), 1: 118.

Further Reading: Dodd, William E. The Life of Nathaniel Macon. Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton, 1903; Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. "Nathaniel Macon and the Southern Protest against National Consolidation." North Carolina Historical Review 32 (July 1955): 376–84.



29. Littleton Waller Tazewell (Virginia)

President Pro Tempore: 1832

Senate Service: December 7, 1824, to July 16, 1832

Party: Jackson Republican; Jacksonian

Born: Williamsburg, Virginia, December 17, 1774

Died: Norfolk, Virginia, May 6, 1860

Education: Privately tutored; graduated from the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1791; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: After being admitted to the bar in 1796, Littleton W. Tazewell practiced law in James City County, Virginia. He became a member of the Virginia state house of delegates in 1798 and served until 1800. Following service in the U.S. House of Representatives from November 26, 1800, until March 3, 1801, he moved to Norfolk, Virginia, and served again in the Virginia general assembly from 1804 to 1806, and for a third time from 1816 until 1817. In 1821, he was one of the commissioners of claims under the treaty with Spain ceding Florida. He was a delegate to the state convention in 1829, during his U.S. Senate service, and was governor of Virginia from 1834 until his retirement in 1836. Littleton Tazewell's father, Henry Tazewell, also served in the U.S. Senate and was elected president pro tempore in 1803 and 1804.

Committee Chair: Foreign Relations (1827–1832)

Observations: Just "one day after Tazewell's election as president pro tempore, Congress received [President Andrew Jackson's] message vetoing the act to recharter the Bank of the United States.... The veto message touched off an outpouring of violent opinions greater than any since Webster and Hayne had engaged in verbal combat, and Tazewell, in the chair, presided over a wild scene. Webster cried 'despotism' and likened Jackson to 'James the Second of England, a month before he was compelled to fly the kingdom,' or to Louis XIV of France, who had the audacity to declare, 'I AM THE STATE'....The Senators from Missouri and Kentucky exchanged abusive remarks, with Benton defending the president and Clay recalling Jackson's propensity to take the law into his own hands by resorting to various forms of physical violence. Both hurled charges of 'atrocious calumny' as Tazewell attempted to gavel them to order.... The session had been the most exciting and exasperating Tazewell had experienced."

~ Norma Lois Peterson, Littleton Waller Tazewell (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 210–212.

Further Reading: Sawers, Timothy R. "The Public Career of Littleton Waller Tazewell, 1824–1836." Ph.D. dissertation, Miami University, 1972.



30. Hugh Lawson White (Tennessee)

President Pro Tempore: 1832–1833

Senate Service: October 28, 1825, to January 13, 1840

Party: Jacksonian; Anti-Jackson; Whig

Born: Iredell County, North Carolina, October 30, 1773

Died: Knoxville, Tennessee, April 10, 1840

Education: Pursued classical studies in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; studied law in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

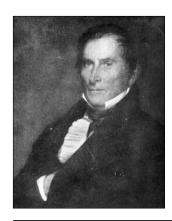
Non-Senate Career: Prior to pursuing his education in Pennsylvania, Hugh Lawson White became private secretary to William Blount, the territorial governor of Tennessee. In 1793, he participated in an expedition against the Cherokee Indians. After he studied law in Pennsylvania, he returned to Knoxville, was admitted to the bar in 1796, and practiced law. He became judge of the state superior court from 1801 to 1807 and served in Tennessee's state senate from 1807 to 1809. In 1808 he was appointed United States district attorney, and then served as judge of the state supreme court from 1809 to 1815. He was president of the state bank from 1812 to 1827, and again served in the state senate from 1817 until 1825, when he entered the United States Senate.

Observations: "[White's] grave and venerable form is even now before us—the air of patient attention, of grave deliberation, of unrelaxed firmness. Here his position was of the highest—beloved, respected, honored; always in his place—always prepared for the business at hand—always bringing to it the treasured reflections of a sedate and vigorous understanding."

~ Senator William Preston of South Carolina, quoted in Kenneth McKellar, Tennessee Senators, As Seen by One of their Successors (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1942), 181.

Further Reading: Gresham, L. Paul. "The Public Career of Hugh Lawson White." Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1943; Scott, Nancy, ed. A Memoir of Hugh Lawson White. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1856.

Committee Chair: Indian Affairs (1827–1840)



31. George Poindexter (Mississippi)

President Pro Tempore: 1834

Senate Service: October 15, 1830, to March 3, 1835

Party: Jacksonian; Anti-Jackson

Born: Louisa County, Virginia, in 1779

Died: Jackson, Mississippi, September 5, 1853

Education: Studied law.

Non-Senate Career: After he was admitted to the bar in 1800, George Poindexter practiced law in Milton, Virginia. He moved to the Mississippi Territory in 1802 and practiced law in Natchez. In 1805, he was appointed attorney general of the Mississippi Territory. He became a member of the territorial general assembly in 1805 and a delegate to Congress from the Mississippi Territory in 1807. He served as United States district judge for the territory from 1813 until 1817. Poindexter became a member of the U.S. House of Representatives on December 10, 1817, and served in that body until March 3, 1819. In the House, he served as chairman of the Committee on Public Lands from 1817 until 1819. He was then elected governor of Mississippi and served from 1820 until 1822. Following his Senate service, he resumed the practice of law until his death.

Committee Chair: Private Land Claims (1831-1833); Public Lands (1833-1835)

Observations: "He was never without a quarrel on his hands, and for the settle of these he used the courts, his fists, his cane, his riding crop, his pistols, and his superb vocabulary of invective."

~ Mack Swearingen, The Early Life of George Poindexter, quoted in "Two Irascible Antebellum Senators," Journal of Mississippi History 46 (February 1984): 20.

"To honor Poindexter for his sharp attack on the administration [during the bank war], the Whig majority chose him, in June of 1834, to be president pro tempore of the Senate. The Jacksonians were furious. Not only were the bitter feelings between Poindexter and Old Hickory well known, but the Mississippian was one of two senators—Calhoun being the other—who were not on good personal terms with Vice President Van Buren. The Democrats regarded his election as an attempt to 'disgrace the Chair, in which Mr. Van Buren has been placed by the People of the United States.' One editor said: 'This man... yet rank with the fumes of a low debauch, his step yet tottering, and his eyes rolling with a drunken leer, this man, all filth and vermon [sic], called, probably, from a brothel or a gin cellar, to the Senate Chamber, this man, they choose ... to preside over the Senate of the United States."

~ Edwin A. Miles, "Andrew Jackson and Senator George Poindexter," The Journal of Southern History 24 (February 1958): 60.

Further Reading: Smith, Suanna. "George Poindexter: A Political Biography." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1980; Swearingen, Mack. The Early Life of George Poindexter. New Orleans: Tulane University Press, 1934.



32. John Tyler (Virginia)

President Pro Tempore: 1835

Senate Service: March 4, 1827, to February 29, 1836

Party: Democratic Republican; Jacksonian; Anti-Jackson

Born: Charles City County, Virginia, March 29, 1790

Died: Richmond, Virginia, January 18, 1862

Education: Attended private schools; graduated from the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1807; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: John Tyler was admitted to Virginia's bar in 1809 and practiced law in Charles City County. He was a member of the state house of delegates from 1811 to 1816 and became captain of a military company in 1813. In 1816, he became a member of the council of state and was then elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, serving from December 17, 1816, to March 3, 1821. He declined to be a candidate for renomination in 1820 because of impaired health. He was again elected to the state house of delegates, serving from 1823 to 1825, before becoming governor of Virginia from 1825 to 1827. While serving as one of Virginia's U.S. senators, he was a delegate to Virginia's state constitutional convention in 1829 and 1830. Following his U.S. Senate service, he became a member of the state house of delegates for a third time in 1839. He was elected vice president of the United States on the Whig ticket with William Henry Harrison in 1840, was inaugurated March 4, 1841, and served until the death of President Harrison on April 4, 1841, when he became president of the United States. He took the oath of

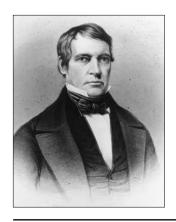
office as president on April 6, 1841, and served until March 3, 1845. He was a delegate to and president of the peace convention held in Washington, D.C., in 1861 in an effort to devise means to prevent the impending war, and a delegate to the Confederate Provisional Congress in 1861 after Virginia seceded from the Union. Although he had been elected to the House of Representatives of the Confederate Congress, he died before the assembling of that Congress.

Committee Chair: District of Columbia (1833–1836); Manufactures (1833–1835)

Observations: "Tyler received a signal honor at the hands of his colleagues. In the evening of March 3 he was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and for the few hours between six o'clock and midnight he presided over that body."

~ Oliver P. Chitwood, *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South* (Newtown, CT: American Political Biography Press, 1939/1990), 132.

Further Reading: Monroe, Dan. The Republican Vision of John Tyler. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2003.



33. William Rufus de Vane King (Alabama)

President Pro Tempore: 1836–1837, 1839–1841, 1850–1852

Senate Service: December 14, 1819, to April 15, 1844; July 1, 1848, to December 20, 1852

Party: Democratic Republican; Jacksonian; Democrat

Born: Sampson County, North Carolina, April 7, 1786

Died: "King's Bend" plantation, Alabama, April 18, 1853

Education: Attended private schools; graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1803; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: William Rufus de Vane King was admitted to the bar in 1806 and practiced law in Clinton, North Carolina. He was a member of the state house of commons from 1807 to 1809 and city solicitor of Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1810. King was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served from March 4, 1811, until November 4, 1816. He resigned from the House to serve as secretary of the legation at Naples and later at St. Petersburg. He returned to the United States in 1818 and settled in Alabama, where he was a planter. In 1819, he was a delegate to the convention that organized the Alabama state government. Between his two tenures as U.S. senator, from 1844 until 1846, he served as minister to France, and in 1853, he became the 13th vice president of the United States.

Committee Chair: Public Lands (1831–1833); Commerce (1831–1833, 1837–1841); Foreign Relations (1849–1851); Pensions (1849–1851)

Observations: "The Federal Constitution devolves upon the people, through the medium of the Electoral Colleges, the choice of the presiding officer of this body. But whenever the Senate was called to supply the place temporarily, for a long course of years, and till he ceased to belong to it, it turned spontaneously to [King].

He undoubtedly owed this honor to distinguished qualifications for the chair. He possessed, in an eminent degree, that quickness of perception, that promptness of decision, that familiarity with the now somewhat complicated rules of congressional proceedings, and that urbanity of manner, which are required in a presiding officer.... [King] possessed the rare and the highly important talent of controlling, with impartiality, the storm of debate, and moderating between mighty spirits, whose ardent conflicts at times seemed to threaten the stability of the Republic.

In fact, sir, he was highly endowed with what Cicero beautifully commends as the boni Senatoris prudentia, the 'wisdom of a good Senator;' and in his accurate study and ready application of the rules of parliamentary law, he rendered a service to the country, not perhaps of the most brilliant kind, but assuredly of no secondary importance."

~ Senator Edward Everett, Congressional Globe, 33rd Cong., 1st sess., December 8, 1853, 20.

Further Reading: Martin, John M. "William Rufus King: Southern Moderate." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1955; U.S. Congress. Memorial Addresses. 33rd Cong., 1st sess., 1853. Washington, D.C.: Armstrong, 1854.



34. Samuel Lewis Southard (New Jersey)

President Pro Tempore: 1841–1842

Senate Service: January 26, 1821, to March 3, 1823; December 2, 1833, to June 26, 1842

Party: Democratic Republican; Anti-Jackson; Whig

Born: Basking Ridge, Somerset County, New Jersey, June 9, 1787

Died: Fredericksburg, Virginia, June 26, 1842

Education: Attended the village school; graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton College) in 1804; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Samuel Lewis Southard worked as a tutor for a family near Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1805. He was admitted to Virginia's bar in 1809, moved back to New Jersey, and began practicing law in Flemington in 1811. He was elected to New Jersey's general assembly in 1815 but sat for only a few days before he was appointed associate justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, serving from 1815 to 1820. Following his first term in the U.S. Senate, he became secretary of the navy, serving for Presidents Monroe and Adams from 1823 to 1829. He also served as secretary of the treasury ad interim in 1825 and secretary of war ad interim in 1828. Southard returned to Trenton after Andrew Jackson's election as president and was appointed attorney general of New Jersey in 1829. He served as governor of New Jersey from 1832 to 1833, before returning to the U.S. Senate.

Committee Chair: Naval Affairs (1833–1837)

Observations: "The soundness of his judgment, the candor of his disposition, the sweetness of his temper, and the firmness of his adherence to his own sense of right were, to me, as a colleague and a confidential assistant and advisor, a treasure beyond all price."

~ John Quincy Adams, June 28, 1842, quoted in Michael Birkner, Samuel L. Southard: Jeffersonian Whig (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), 198–99.

"The major anxiety afflicting Southard during the early months of the session was breaking the ice on the Senate floor and offering a maiden speech. Despite his legal background and his modest reputation as an orator, Southard had always been nervous about public speaking, and in such a forum as the United States Senate he was practically paralyzed. Opportunities to speak out on various minor issues abounded, but Southard could not bring himself to rise. December and January passed, and still he had not taken the floor. Friends, newspaper editors, and even his father, began to wonder aloud whether he would ever make his speaking debut. Finally in early February, Southard resolved to rise during a secret session of the Senate, when he would not have to face a gallery of interested onlookers. But even though he had points he wanted to make during that session, his paralysis continued to grip him, and he did not rise. 'As I sat in my room at night reflecting on the business of the day,' he later confessed to his wife, 'I felt mortified at my own folly, in not daring to speak when my duty seemed to require it."

~ Michael Birkner, Samuel L. Southard: Jeffersonian Whig (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), 55.

Further Reading: Ershkowitz, Herbert. "Samuel L. Southard: A Case Study of Whig Leadership in the Age of Jackson." New Jersey History 88 (Spring 1970): 5-24.



35. Willie Person Mangum (North Carolina)

President Pro Tempore: 1842–1845

Senate Service: March 4, 1831, to November 26, 1836; November 25, 1840, to March 3, 1853

Party: Jacksonian; Anti-Jackson; Whig

Born: Orange (now Durham) County, North Carolina, May 10, 1792

Died: Red Mountain, North Carolina, September 7, 1861

Education: Attended academies at Hillsboro, Fayetteville, and Raleigh; graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1815; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Willie Person Mangum was admitted to the bar in 1817 and practiced law in Red Mountain, North Carolina. He was a member of the state house of representatives from 1818 until 1819 and was twice elected a state superior court judge. In 1823, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served from March 4, 1823, until March 18, 1826. In 1837, following his first term as U.S. senator, he received South Carolina's 11 electoral votes for president of the United States. Following his second U.S. Senate tenure, he continued to practice law until his death.

Committee Chair: Naval Affairs (1841–1843); Printing (1841–1843)

Observations: "He presides in the Senate and occupies the Vice-President's room in the Capitol. He is a man above the common size, of fair complexion and commanding air, rather grave in his manners, but very agreeable and appears to be kind-hearted. His voice is clear, sufficiently loud and distinct to be heard all over the Senate chamber and its gallery. On the whole, he is, taking him all in all, the best presiding officer that I ever saw in any legislative assembly. He is always at his ease, always dignified and always agreeable."

~ Caleb Atwater, Mysteries of Washington City, During Several Months of the Session of the 28th Congress (Washington, D.C.: G. A. Sage, 1844), 131.

"It was in [the Senate] that he made his great reputation.... In the Senate he became a hard worker, forceful debater, and capable party leader.... On May 31, 1842, Magnum was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate—a position he held until 1845. Since the Vice President, Tyler, had assumed the office of President on the death of Harrison, Mangum was by virtue of his office next in succession to the presidency. Tyler's narrow escape from the tragic accident on the *U.S.S. Princeton* in 1844 measured the margin of chance by which Mangum failed to become President. When his position of presiding officer drew to a close on March 4, 1845, he initiated the practice of turning back the clock to lengthen the legislative day of the out-going administration."

~ Willie Mangum, *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum*, ed. Henry Thomas Shanks (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1950), 1: xxvii.

Further Reading: Hoffmann, William S. "Willie P. Mangum and the Whig Revival of the Doctrine of Instructions." Journal of Southern History 22 (August 1956): 338–54.



36. Ambrose Hundley Sevier (Arkansas)

President Pro Tempore: 1845

Senate Service: September 18, 1836, to March 15, 1848

Party: Jacksonian; Democrat

Born: Greene County, Tennessee, November 4, 1801 *Died:* Pulaski County, Arkansas, December 31, 1848

Education: Studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Ambrose Hundley Sevier moved to Arkansas in 1820 and became clerk of the territorial house of representatives in 1821. He was admitted to the bar in 1823, and that same year, was elected to the territorial house of representatives. He served from 1823 to 1827 and was chosen speaker in 1827. In 1828, he became a delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives, serving from February 13, 1828, until June 15, 1836, when Arkansas was admitted to the Union. After serving two terms as one of Arkansas's first U.S. senators, Sevier resigned his Senate seat and was appointed minister to Mexico to negotiate the treaty of peace between that Republic and the United States.

Committee Chair: Indian Affairs (1839–1841, 1845–1847); Foreign Relations (1845–1848)

Observations: By 1840, Sevier "had already come to realize that he could afford to retain his natural political style in the Senate. That style was direct, exuberant, aggressive, and hostile to any veneer of sophistication. Sevier's forte was bluntness, a manner befitting his power in Arkansas politics. He often seems to have taken a great delight in flaunting his crudeness and disregard for political niceties."

~ Brian G. Walton, "Ambrose Hundley in the Senate," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 32 (Spring 1973): 38.

Sevier is "a political partisan of the most ultra-radical type.... This is one of those rough and tumble geniuses which no country can produce but ours; and in ours, only the extreme western portion."

~ New York Express, quoted in Arkansas State Gazette, June 21, 1843.



37. David Rice Atchison (Missouri)

President Pro Tempore: 1846-1849, 1852-1854

Senate Service: October 14, 1843, to March 3, 1855

Party: Democrat

Born: Frogtown, Kentucky, August 11, 1807

Died: Near Gower, Clinton County, Missouri, January 26, 1886

Education: Attended Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: In 1829, David Atchison was admitted to the bar and began practicing law in Liberty, Clay County, Missouri. He also engaged in agricultural pursuits. He became a member of the Missouri state house of representatives in 1834, and again in 1838, and was appointed judge of the Platte County circuit court in 1841. Following his Senate career, he resumed the practice of law.

Committee Chair: Militia (1845–1847); Indian Affairs (1847–1853)

Observations: "In Missouri, there is a statue of Senator Atchison that identifies him as president of the United States for one day, March 4, 1849. Since the traditional day for presidential inaugurations, then March 4, fell on a Sunday that year, President-elect Zachary Taylor waited until Monday to be sworn in. Senator Atchison based his claim to the presidency that Sunday on the grounds that, as president pro tempore, he was next in the line of succession—although he never took the presidential oath. When asked later about his 'presidency,' Senator Atchison liked to say, 'That was the honestest administration this country ever had.' Although scholars dismiss Atchison's claim, he did in fact come close to becoming president four years later. In 1853, on his way to Washington, President-elect Franklin Pierce was in a train wreck that took the life of his only child. If Pierce had not survived the accident, David R. Atchison, as president pro tempore, would have succeeded

to the presidency, since Vice President [William R.] King died a month after the inauguration."

~ U.S. Congress, Senate, *The Senate*, 1789–1989, *Addresses on the History of the United States Senate*, by Robert C. Byrd, vol. 2, S. Doc. 100–20, 100th Cong., 1st sess., 1991, 177.

Further Reading: Atchison, Theodore. "David R. Atchison, A Study in American Politics." Missouri Historical Review 24 (July 1930): 502–15; Parrish, William E. David Rice Atchison of Missouri: Border Politician Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1961.



38. Lewis Cass (Michigan)

President Pro Tempore: 1854

Senate Service: March 4, 1845, to May 29, 1848; March 4, 1849, to March 3, 1857

Party: Democrat

Born: Exeter, New Hampshire, October 9, 1782

Died: Detroit, Michigan, June 17, 1866

Education: Attended Exeter Academy; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Lewis Cass taught school in Wilmington, Delaware, moved to the Northwest Territory in 1801, and settled on a farm near Zanesville, Ohio. He was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1802 and served in the state house of representatives in 1806. He was United States marshal for the district of Ohio from 1807 to 1812, when he resigned to enlist in the army. From 1813 to 1814, he served in the United States Army, attaining the rank of brigadier general. He was appointed military and civil governor of Michigan Territory, where he served from 1813 to 1831. He settled in Detroit, and in 1831 President Andrew Jackson appointed him secretary of war. He resigned in 1836, having been appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to France. He served in that diplomatic post from 1836 to 1842. He resigned from the Senate when he was nominated for president of the United States but was re-elected to the Senate to fill the same seat when he lost his presidential bid. Following his Senate service, he was secretary of state from 1857 until his resignation in 1860, when he returned to Detroit and engaged in literary pursuits.

Committee Chair: Military Affairs (1847–1848)

Observations: "His strength of will, his clearness of intellectual vision, his rare judgment of practical matters, his independence of opinion, his fullness of learning, his patience in acquisition, his hours of close and protracted application, his temperate habits and his simple mode of life are too well known to require description. He was a public rather than a public-spirited man, tenacious of his opinion, though affable in his manners; a strong partisan and an obstinate and unyielding opponent."

~ 1866 obituary, U.S. Senate Historical Office.

"Few American statesmen have rivaled Cass in the multiplicity of his public duties as soldier, territorial governor, Secretary of War, Minister to France, senatorial leader, presidential nominee, and Secretary of State. He was a firm believer in American democracy and in local sovereignty. He tried to save this nation from Civil War."

~ Senator Blair Moody, U.S. Congress, Senate, Congressional Record, 82nd Cong., 1st sess., A6349.

Further Reading: Klunder, Willard C. Lewis Cass and the Politics of Moderation. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1996; Wooford, Frank B. Lewis Cass: The Last Jeffersonian. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950.



39. Jesse David Bright (Indiana)

President Pro Tempore: 1854–1856, 1856–1857, 1860

Senate Service: March 4, 1845, to February 5, 1862

Party: Democrat

Born: Norwich, Chenango County, New York, December 18, 1812

Died: Baltimore, Maryland, May 20, 1875

Education: Attended public schools in Madison, Indiana; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Jesse D. Bright was admitted to the bar in 1831 and practiced law in Madison, Jefferson County, Indiana. In 1834, he became judge of the probate court of Jefferson County. He then served as United States marshal for the district of Indiana from 1840 until 1841. He was a member of the Indiana state senate from 1841 until 1843 and the lieutenant governor of Indiana from 1843 until 1845. After Bright was expelled from the U.S. Senate for supporting the rebellion, he moved to Kentucky and was elected to the Kentucky state house of representatives, serving from 1866 until 1871. He then moved to Baltimore, Maryland, and was president of the Raymond City Coal Co. from 1871 until his death.

Committee Chair: Enrolled Bills (1845–1847); Public Buildings (1845–1847); Revolutionary Claims (1847–1849); Roads and Canals (1849–1855); Public Buildings and Grounds (1857–1861)

Observations: [Bright] had natural talents of a high order, but was deficient in education and cultivation when he first went to the United States Senate. He is said to have violated rules of grammar not infrequently in his public speeches, but to have been so earnest in

his manner that his words burned into the minds of his hearers. His overwhelming energy and earnestness were great assets in addressing his hearers, and his oratory was that of the circuit lawyer of that time—loud, furious, violent, and heavy with historical comparison and political platitudes."

~ Charles B. Murphy, The Political Career of Jesse D. Bright (Indianapolis: The Society, 1931), 106.

Bright "took the position seriously, and was always scrupulously just in the decisions he rendered regarding ordinary business, and in his decisions when individual members were involved. If he seemed a bit partisan when party benefits could be gained, one must remember that in those days it was common practice for the presiding officer to use his position for the advantage of his party."

~ Charles B. Murphy, The Political Career of Jesse D. Bright (Indianapolis: The Society, 1931), 125.

Further Reading: Cooney, Charles F. "Treason or Tyranny? The Great Senate Purge of '62." Civil War Times Illustrated 18 (July 1979): 30-31; Murphy, Charles. "The Political Career of Jesse Bright." Indiana Historical Society Publications 10 (1931): 101-45.



40. Charles Edward Stuart (Michigan)

President Pro Tempore: 1856

Senate Service: March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1859

Party: Democrat

Born: Near Waterloo, Columbia County, New York, November 25, 1810

Died: Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 19, 1887

Education: Studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Charles Edward Stuart was admitted to the New York bar in 1832 and began practicing law in Waterloo. He moved to Michigan in 1835 and settled in Kalamazoo. In 1842, he served in the state house of representatives and then was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in a special election, serving from December 6, 1847, to March 3, 1849. He served again in the House from March 4, 1851, to March 3, 1853. He was chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Department of State from 1851 to 1853. After serving one term in the U.S. Senate, he resumed the practice of law. During the Civil War he raised and equipped the Thirteenth Regiment, Michigan Volunteer Infantry, of which he was commissioned colonel, but he resigned because of ill health.

Committee Chair: Public Lands (1855–1859)

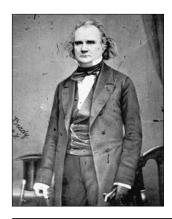
Observations: Stuart "was for two terms a member of the United States house of representative and served one term of six years in the United States senate. During his last term of office in the house he moved and

made a persistent effort and accomplished the passage of the law making a landed appropriation for the construction of the Sault St Marie canal—a law that has added more to the wealth of Michigan than almost any other that was ever enacted. Mr. Stuart was one of the very ablest presiding officers of a deliberative assembly that Michigan has ever produced. In his rulings on questions of parliamentary law he was rarely at fault, and in his political positions he always showed remarkable ability and a memory capable of absorbing and retaining a vast amount of knowledge on affairs in general."

~ 1887 obituary, U.S. Senate Historical Office.

"If I were to characterize [Stuart] in a single sentence, I should say that he had large observation and intuitive knowledge of human nature; a judgment that made few mistakes; remarkable coolness and self-possession; courage, quick decision, and great firmness of will; natural logic in handling facts; and an easy, graceful, and most persuasive eloquence, assisted and set off by an unusually rich and sonorous voice, and a commanding dignity of carriage and gesture."

~ Eulogy by Charles S. May, 1887, quoted in *The Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph*, November 21, 1894.



41. James Murray Mason (Virginia)

President Pro Tempore: 1857

Senate Service: January 21, 1847, to March 28, 1861

Party: Democrat

Born: Analostan Island, Fairfax County, Virginia (now Theodore Roosevelt Island, Washington, D.C.), November 3, 1798

Died: "Clarens," near Alexandria, Virginia, April 28, 1871

Education: Privately tutored at an academy at Georgetown, D.C.; graduated from the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia in 1818; graduated from the law department of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1820.

Non-Senate Career: James Murray Mason was admitted to the bar in 1820 and practiced law in Winchester, Virginia. He was a delegate to the Virginia constitutional convention in 1829 and a member of the state house of delegates in 1826 and again from 1829 until 1831. Mason was a presidential elector on the Democratic ticket in 1832. He served as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from March 4, 1837, until March 3, 1839. After Mason was expelled from the U.S. Senate in 1861 for support of the rebellion, he became a delegate from Virginia to the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy and was appointed commissioner of the Confederacy to Great Britain and France. While on his way to his post, he was taken prisoner from the British mail steamer Trent on November 8, 1861, and confined in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor. He was released in January 1862 and proceeded to London, where he represented the Confederacy until its downfall in April 1865. He resided in Canada after the close of the war until 1868, when he returned to Virginia.

Committee Chair: Claims (1847–1849); District of Columbia (1849–1851); Foreign Relations (1851–1861); Naval Affairs (1851–1853) Observations: "True to the high behests of his public duty, [Mason] is diligent in his attention to business, and the record of debates shows that he never hesitates to express his convictions upon all public measures, or to criticize the public conduct of public men.... His speeches show a high order of talent, which has been ripened and improved by long experience in political affairs. Arranging the points which he wishes to establish as systematically as Euclid laid down his problems, he so demonstrates their truths as he proceeds, calling to his aid timehonored authorities, that when he arrives at the closing argument the whole is geometrically proven.... In person, Senator Mason is stalwart and well-formed, with a fine, imposing head, a pleasing countenance, and a keen eye. One of the few remaining polished links between the statesmen of the past and present generations, his manners are courtly, and the genial warmth of his heart endears him to a large circle of relatives and friends."

~ Harper's Weekly, March 20, 1858.

Further Reading: Bugg, James L., Jr. "The Political Career of James Murray Mason: The Legislative Phase." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1950.



42. Thomas Jefferson Rusk (Texas)

President Pro Tempore: 1857

Senate Service: February 21, 1846, to July 29, 1857

Party: Democrat

Born: Pendleton District, South Carolina, December 5, 1803

Died: Nacogdoches, Texas, July 29, 1857

Education: Self-taught; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: Thomas Rusk practiced law in Georgia before moving to Nacogdoches, Texas, in 1835. He was a delegate to the convention which declared for the independence of Texas in 1836 and became the first secretary of war of the new Republic. At the Battle of San Jacinto, he took command of the forces and retained command until October 1836, when he resumed his duties as secretary of war. He was a member of the Second Congress of the Republic of Texas and chief justice of the supreme court of Texas from 1838 to 1842. In 1843, he was appointed major general of militia of the Republic of Texas and served as president of the convention that confirmed the annexation of Texas to the United States in 1845.

Committee Chair: Enrolled Bills (1847–1851); Militia (1847–1849); Engrossed Bills (1847–1849); Post Office and Post Roads (1849–1857)

Observations: "Rusk was a most decided partisan, but no man ever doubted his sincerity. In manner he was blunt, frank and out-spoken; and in heart genial and kind. There was no guile in him. His position was always well defined and not to be mistaken. As an adversary he was bold, powerful, earnest and sincere. Conscious of his own integrity he conceded the same virtue to his colleagues. As a friend he was reliable; and in his whole life an exemplification of that true chivalry so often theorized and so seldom to be found. Eminently practical, possessed of an unusual share of plain common sense, liberal in his views of public policy, and ready at all times to join hands with whoever could aid him in accomplishing a public end, regardless of party affiliations, he has made his mark in the Senate Chamber on a host of successful public measures."

~ New York Daily Times, August 5, 1857.

Further Reading: Clarke, Mary. Thomas J. Rusk: Soldier, Statesman, Jurist. Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1971; Huston, Cleburne. Towering Texan: A Biography of Thomas J. Rusk. Waco: Texian Press, 1971.



43. Benjamin Fitzpatrick (Alabama)

President Pro Tempore: 1857–1860

Senate Service: November 25, 1848, to November 30, 1849; January 14, 1853, to March 3, 1855; November 26, 1855, to January 21, 1861

Party: Democrat

Born: Greene County, Georgia, June 30, 1802

Died: Near Wetumpka, Alabama, November 21, 1869

Education: Attended public schools in Alabama; studied law.

Non-Senate Career: In 1823, Benjamin Fitzpatrick was admitted to the bar and began practicing law in Montgomery, Alabama. He was elected solicitor of the Montgomery circuit and served from 1822 until 1823. A plantation owner, Fitzpatrick also served as governor of Alabama from 1841 until 1845. Following his Senate service, he served as president of the constitutional convention of Alabama in 1865.

Committee Chair: Printing (1853–1855); Engrossed Bills (1853–1855)

Observations: "The... Senator from Alabama, Benjamin Fitzpatrick, was a model of senatorial frankness.... He was a plain, oldfashioned miller, and not a man of conspicuous ability. He had not the audacity peculiar to men of dash and skill...."

~ Samuel S. Cox, Union—Disunion—Reunion: Three Decades of Federal Legislation (Providence: J.A. & R.A. Reid, 1894), 60, 87.

"In 1855 the [Alabama State] legislature elected Fitzpatrick to serve a full term, which he did with great distinction. During President James Buchanan's administration, Fitzpatrick was chosen to serve as president pro tempore of the Senate for the three years before the war, the only Alabamian other than [Rufus] King to have this distinction. His senatorial service was recognized as one of personal integrity, dedication, fairmindedness, and commitment to the public trust."

~ Elbert L. Watson, Alabama United States Senators (Huntsville, AL: Strode Publishers, 1982), 51.

Further Reading: Roberts, Shepherd H. "Benjamin Fitzpatrick and the Vice-Presidency." In Studies in Southern and Alabama History, ed. George Patrie, 46–53. Montgomery: Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1904.



Report for Congress

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The President Pro Tempore of the Senate: History and Authority of the Office

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Richard C. Sachs
Specialist in American National Government
Government and Finance Division

The President Pro Tempore of the Senate History and Authority of the Office

Summary

The U.S. Constitution establishes the office of the President pro tempore of the Senate to preside over the Senate in the Vice President's absence. Since 1947, the President pro tempore has stood third in line to succeed to the presidency, after the Vice President and the Speaker of the House.

Although the President pro tempore's powers are limited and not comparable to those of the Speaker of the House, as the chamber's presiding officer, he is authorized to perform certain duties. For example, he may decide points of order (subject to appeal) and enforce decorum in the Senate chamber and galleries.

Early in the Nation's history, some Presidents pro tempore appointed Senators to standing committees. While they no longer do so, election to the office is considered one of the highest honors bestowed by the Senate, and Presidents pro tempore are traditionally accorded a somewhat larger salary and allowances for staff.

Eight-eight different Senators have served as President pro tempore. Sixty-one served prior to 1900, when Vice Presidents routinely presided over the chamber and Presidents pro tempore were elected to serve only for limited periods when the Vice President was absent or ill, or the office was vacated. Frequently, several different Presidents pro tempore were chosen in a single congressional session, "on the basis of their personal characteristics, popularity, and reliability." (See Robert C. Byrd, "President Pro Tempore of the Senate," in Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Congress*, 4 vols., New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995, vol. 3, p. 1604.)

Since 1890, the President pro tempore has customarily been the majority party Senator with the longest continuous service. Twice, the Senate has also created an office of Deputy President pro tempore to honor a colleague, and an office of Permanent Acting President pro tempore in a third instance for the same reason. In 2001, the Senate also created an office of President pro tempore Emeritus.

This report traces the constitutional origins and development of the office of President pro tempore of the Senate, reviews its current role and authority, and provides information on Senators who have held this office, and the more recently created subsidiary offices, over the past 2 centuries.

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The President Pro Tempore of the Senate: History and Authority of the Office

Introduction

The President pro tempore of the Senate is one of only three legislative officers established by the U.S. Constitution. The other two are the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Vice President of the United States, who also serves as President of the Senate. The Constitution designates the President pro tempore to serve in the Vice President's absence. The President pro tempore is often popularly known as the President pro tem.

The role of the President pro tempore has evolved since John Langdon of New Hampshire first took the chair on April 6, 1789, in the absence of Vice President John Adams. Once only temporary stand-ins for the Vice President, contemporary Presidents pro tempore now effectively serve as long as their party holds a majority in the Senate. By virtue of the Succession Act of 1792, the President pro tempore stood second in the line of presidential succession after the Vice President for nearly a century. The Succession Act of 1886 removed the President pro tempore as a successor. With the passage of the Presidential Succession Act of 1947, the President pro tempore was restored to the line of succession, this time following the Vice President and the Speaker of the House. At one time Presidents pro tempore appointed committee members and wielded considerable power within the Senate, but are now limited in their independent authority.

Perhaps the greatest change in the office has come since 1890, when the Senate decided that Presidents pro tempore would hold the office continuously until the election of a successor, regardless of whether the Vice President was present or absent. Since that time, the office has been customarily occupied by the most senior Senator of the majority party. Although the office's practical authority has diminished, it remains powerfully symbolic of the dignity of the United States Senate. As one noted historian of the Senate has written, "election of a [S]enator to the office of the [P]resident pro tempore has always been considered one of the highest honors offered to a [S]enator by the Senate as a body."²

²Robert C. Byrd, *The Senate*, 1789-1989: Addresses on the History of the United States (continued...)

¹John Langdon was first elected President pro tempore on Apr. 6, 1789 for the purpose of counting the electoral vote ballots for President and Vice President. Technically, he did not replace Vice President John Adams in the chair, but served prior to the Vice President's formal election on that day. See *Debates and Proceedings of the Congress of the United States*, vol. 1, Apr. 6, 1789 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834), pp. 16-17, 22. Vice President Adams first appeared in the Senate on Apr. 21,1789.

On January 3, 2001, the first day of the 107th Congress, the Senate approved S.Res. 3, electing Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, to be President pro tempore from January 3 until January 20, 2001, and Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, to be President pro tempore beginning at noon on January 20.³ In May 2001, Senator James Jeffords of Vermont left the Republican Party and became an Independent. As a result, the Democratic Party became the majority party in the Senate, and on June 6, 2001, the Senate agreed to S.Res. 100, electing Senator Byrd President pro tempore for the second time in the 107th Congress.⁴ At the same time, the Senate also agreed to S.Res. 103, designating Senator Thurmond as President pro tempore Emeritus of the Senate.⁵

In addition to a survey of the origins, history, and authorities of the office of the President pro tempore, this report includes accompanying tables that provide further historical data. **Table 1** identifies each of the Presidents pro tempore since 1789. **Table 2** provides information on the two Senators who have held the office of Deputy President pro tempore. Historical data on the single Senator to serve as Permanent Acting President pro tempore is found in **Table 3**. The recently established office of President pro tempore Emeritus is noted in **Table 4**. A brief bibliography is also provided. An appendix explains the abbreviations used to denote party affiliations in **Table 1**.

In addition to statutory law and rules of the Senate, other sources provide information on the office of the President pro tempore. The principal source for party affiliations in **Table 1** is Senator Robert C. Byrd's *The Senate*, 1789-1989, vol. IV: Historical Statistics, 1789-1992.⁶ The Senate Manual contains tables similar to **Tables 1** and **2** in this report.⁷

Senate, 100th Cong., 1st sess., S.Doc. 100-20, vol. 2 (Washington: GPO, 1991), p. 183.

³This unusual election for President pro tempore was the consequence of the 2000 elections that resulted in a Senate of 50 Republicans and 50 Democrats. Since the 107th Congress convened before the inauguration of Republican President-elect George W. Bush on Jan. 20, the Senate was controlled from Jan. 3 until Jan. 20, 2001, by the Democratic Party. Because Vice President Albert Gore continued to be President of the Senate, Senator Byrd, a Democrat, was elected as President pro tempore for that period. Following Republican Richard B. Cheney's inauguration as Vice President, Sen. Thurmond became President pro tempore. See S.Res. 3, adopted Jan. 3, 2001. "Election of the Honorable Robert C. Byrd As President Pro Tempore And Election of the Honorable Strom Thurmond As President Pro Tempore," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 147, pp. S6-S7.

⁴See S.Res. 100, adopted June 6, 2001. "Election of the Honorable C. Byrd as President Pro Tempore," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol 147, p. S5843.

⁵See S.Res. 103, adopted June 6, 2001. "Thanking and Electing Strom Thurmond President Pro Tempore Emeritus," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 147, p. S5844.

⁶Robert C. Byrd, *The Senate*, *1789-1989*, 100th Cong., 1st sess., S.Doc. 100-20, vol. 4 (Washington: GPO, 1993), 4 vols., pp. 647-653.

⁷Senate Manual, 106th Cong., 1st sess., S.Doc. 106-1 (Washington: GPO, 2000), pp. 991-996.

²(...continued)

The official compilation of Senate precedents, including those relating to the President pro tempore, is printed as *Riddick's Senate Procedure*. The latest version, revised and edited by Senate parliamentarian Alan S. Frumin, was printed in 1992 (Senate Document 101-28).⁸ Senate precedents are also available on-line from the Senate Legis data base, although they are complete only through 1988. On-line statutory information about the President pro tempore can also be found in commercial data bases such as Lexis-Nexis, and for free through the Web site of the U.S. Government Printing Office and its *United States Code* search engine.⁹ Recent scholarship also contributed to this report.¹⁰

Historical Development of the Office of the President Pro Tempore

Origins. Article I, Section 3 of the United States Constitution declares that:

The Senate shall choose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

Aside from the Vice President's designation as President of the Senate, the President pro tempore is the only position in the Senate explicitly established by the Constitution.

After a sufficient number of Senators arrived to constitute a quorum for the First Congress on April 6, 1789, the credentials of those present were approved and ordered filed. Next, the chamber selected a President of the Senate "for the sole purpose of opening and counting the votes for President of the United States." John Langdon of New Hampshire was elected, and performed this task. After the election of John Adams as Vice President, the Senate immediately "proceeded by ballot to the choice of a President of their body, pro tempore" because Adams had not yet arrived to assume his duties as President of the Senate. 12

Again, Langdon was chosen, this time to preside over the Senate, and he continued to do so until Vice President Adams appeared in the chamber on April 21, 1789. When Vice President Adams took the chair, Langdon's service as President

⁸Floyd M. Riddick and Alan S. Frumin, *Riddick's Senate Procedure: Precedents and Practices*, 101st Cong., 1st sess., S.Doc. 101-28 (Washington: GPO, 1992).

⁹"Keeping America Informed; United States Government Printing Office," [http://www.access.gpo.gov/].

¹⁰See Gerald Gamm and Stephen S. Smith, *Last Among Equals: The Senate's Presiding Officer*, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Sept., 1998. Hereafter, Gamm and Smith, *Last Among Equals*.

¹¹U.S. Congress, *Senate Journal*, 1st Cong., 1st sess., April 6, 1789, p. 7.

¹²Ibid., p. 8.

pro tempore came to an end. Langdon was re-elected to the office on August 7, 1789, when Adams was again absent.¹³

Tenure. For more than a century, the Senate acted upon the theory that a President pro tempore could be chosen only in the absence of the Vice President, and that the tenure of a President pro tempore expired when the Vice President resumed his duties in the Senate. ¹⁴ Under this interpretation of the Constitution, the Senate elected a President pro tempore each time the Vice President was absent at the beginning of a daily session. Between April 1789 and March 1890, the Senate elected Presidents pro tempore on no fewer than 166 occasions. A record 10 such elections were held during the 42nd Congress.

During the period from April 1789 to March 1890, Presidents pro tempore usually served no more than a few consecutive days before the Vice President returned to displace them. A few men, however, did enjoy relatively long uninterrupted tenures because of the death, extended illness, or chronic absenteeism of some Vice Presidents, or because of a vice presidential vacancy following the death of a President.

Between 1811 and 1825, for example, John Gaillard of South Carolina and, to a lesser degree, James Barbour of Virginia served as Presidents pro tempore for considerable periods due to the deaths of two Vice Presidents and the absenteeism of a third. Two different Senators were President pro tempore for nearly four years after Vice President John Tyler assumed the presidency in March 1841 following William Henry Harrison's death one month after his inauguration as chief executive. Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey occupied the chair for the remainder of 1841 and the first five months of 1842, when Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina was chosen President pro tempore. Mangum served until the inauguration of the next Vice President, George M. Dallas on March 3, 1845.

Similarly, William R. King of Alabama served extensively in the chair during the late 1830s and early 1840s by virtue of his election as President pro tempore on nine consecutive occasions, between July 1836 and March 1841. King also held the position continuously from mid-1850 through late 1852 after Vice President Millard Fillmore succeeded to the presidency upon President Zachary Taylor's death. Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio also enjoyed a long term as President pro tempore after Andrew Johnson became President following President Abraham

¹³Ibid., p. 14; also, George H. Haynes, *The Senate of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Russell and Russell, [1938] 1960), vol. 1, p. 249.

¹⁴In its report of Jan. 6, 1876, the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections declared: "The office of the president pro tempore of the Senate must expire whenever the absence of the Vice President is at an end and he appears in the Senate to preside." U.S. Congress, Senate, [*Election of President Pro Tempore*], 44th Cong., 1st sess., S.Rept. 3 (Washington: GPO, 1876), p. 2. See also, George P. Furber, *Precedents Relating to the Privileges of the Senate of the United States*, 52nd Cong., 2nd sess., S. Misc. Doc. 68 (Washington: GPO, 1893), p. 176.

Lincoln's assassination, as did Senator John Sherman of Ohio, and subsequently John J. Ingalls of Kansas following Vice President Thomas A. Hendricks death in 1885.¹⁵

By the late 19th century, the Senate's workload had grown dramatically and the parties had increasingly assumed responsibility for organizing the work of the chamber and controlling debate on the floor. The role of the presiding officer was consequently diminished. Moreover, questions had arisen over the years about the election of the President pro tempore. For example, is the President pro tempore of the Senate an officer of the Senate, and, does the death of the Vice President after the election of a President pro tempore have the effect of vacating the office of the President pro tempore and requiring a new election? These questions were raised in concrete form following the death in November 1875 of Vice President Henry Wilson, considered a "highly efficient and acceptable presiding officer." In January 1876 a report by the Committee on Privileges and Elections responded to these and other issues involving the "character and tenure" of the President pro tempore.

After debate on the committee's report, the Senate adopted several clarifying resolutions. First, it determined that the tenure of a President pro tempore elected at one session would continue without interruption through a recess and into the next session until the Vice President appeared.

Second, it decided that the death of a Vice President did not automatically vacate the office of the President pro tempore if one had been properly chosen. Third, the Senate affirmed its authority to replace a President pro tempore whenever it pleased.¹⁹

These questions were of more than internal Senate interest throughout this period, since the President pro tempore followed the Vice President in the order of succession to the presidency. The Succession Act of 1792 provided that if both the President and Vice President were to die or otherwise become unable to exercise the powers of the presidency at a time when the Senate was officially absent from the nation's capital, and if that body had not chosen a President pro tempore to hold the

¹⁵Until the 20th century there was no seniority system in the Senate. Of the Senators elected President pro tempore between 1870 and 1900, only two ranked first in their party: "[S]enators instead tended to elect men who were distinguished, popular, and familiar with parliamentary law." Gamm and Smith, *Last Among Equals*, p. 4.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁷George Henry Haynes, "Henry Wilson," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 10 vols., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), vol. 10, p. 324.

¹⁸U.S. Congress, Senate, [*Election of President Pro Tempore*], 44th Cong., 1st sess., S.Rept. 3 (Washington: GPO, 1876), p. 1.

¹⁹U.S. Congress, *Senate Journal*, "Election of President Pro Tempore," 44th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1875), pp. 90, 99. See also: "Office of the President Pro Tempore," *Congressional Record*, vol. 4 (Jan. 10, 1876), pp. 311-316, and (Jan. 11, 1876), pp. 360-373. These resolutions formalized what had been the usual, though unwritten practice of the Senate prior to their adoption.

office during the recess, then the Speaker of the House, under the law, would "act as President of the United States"²⁰

Considering the transportation available in those days, it might take weeks before enough Senators could reassemble and choose a new President pro tempore. Prudence therefore required that the Senate should elect someone to hold that office during the recesses between sessions of a Congress. Because the Senate at the time acted upon the theory that it could not choose a President pro tempore while the Vice President was present, it quickly became the custom after 1792 for the latter to withdraw from the chamber shortly before the end of a session so that Senators might "legally" elect one of their own to the position. Further, historian George H. Haynes notes:

In order that a Senator might be in a position to take upon himself the duties of President of the United States if the necessity should arise, a precedent, set by John Adams and scrupulously followed by Jefferson and Burr, was established whereby the Vice-President would absent himself—'out of courtesy, not necessity,' as Senator Evarts insisted—a day or so before the end of the session, to afford the Senate an opportunity to elect a President *pro tempore* who should hold office during the recess.²²

Such withdrawals, as noted, were matters of courtesy rather than law, and while most Vice Presidents adhered to the custom, a few, inevitably, did not, usually because of critical political circumstances.²³ When both the President pro tempore and the Speaker of the House were removed from the line of succession by the Succession Act of January 19, 1886, the necessity for such maneuvers was eliminated.²⁴

²⁰1 Stat. 240.

²¹U.S. Congress, Senate, "Election of President Pro Tempore," 44th Cong., 1st sess., S. Rept. 3 (Washington: GPO, 1876), pp. 3-5. See also, George H. Haynes, *The Senate of the United States; Its History and Practice*, vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938), 2 vols., p. 256.

²²Haynes, *The Senate of the United States*, vol. 1, p. 256.

²³For example, Vice President Elbridge Gerry refused to vacate the chair in 1813 when President James Madison was seriously ill and the administration's enemies controlled the Senate. Similarly, Vice President George M. Dallas refused to retire at the end of the special session of 1845. Furber, *Precedents Relating to the Privileges of the Senate*, p. 179. "In Mar., 1881, the casting vote of the Vice-President was necessary to secure for the Republicans the organization of the Senate. Under those circumstances their ability to elect a President pro tempore was so uncertain that Vice-President Chester A. Arthur, like Vice President Gerry in 1813, 'sat the session out;' and Congress adjourned, May 20, with no one beyond the Vice President in the line of succession Four years later, Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks continued to occupy the Chair till the end of the short session, Apr. 2, thus preventing the Republicans, then in majority, from choosing a President pro tempore." Haynes, *The Senate of the United States*, vol. 1, pp. 257-258.

²⁴See CRS Report 98-731, *Presidential and Vice Presidential Succession*, by Thomas H. Neale.

Four years later the Senate resolved the question of the President pro tempore's tenure when it adopted a resolution originally introduced by Senator William M. Evarts of New York. As accepted by the Senate on March 12, 1890, the resolution read:

Resolved, That it is competent for the Senate to elect a President *pro tempore*, who shall hold the office during the pleasure of the Senate and until another is elected, and shall execute the duties thereof during all future absences of the Vice-President until the Senate otherwise order.²⁵

That resolution is still in effect. Under its terms a President pro tempore, once elected, holds the post continuously whether or not the Vice President is absent (although, of course, he may not preside over the Senate unless the Vice President steps down from the chair). The tenure of the President pro tempore ends upon the expiration of the term for which he was elected Senator, a precedent dating back to at least 1841. He may, of course, resign, or the Senate may elect another in his stead at its pleasure.

The Presidential Succession Act of 1947 restored the President pro tempore to the line of succession, placing him after the Vice President and Speaker of the House and ahead of the cabinet.²⁶ But neither the 1947 Act nor the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, which further clarifies the rule of presidential succession, has any impact on the tenure of the President pro tempore in his relationship to the Senate as the chamber's presiding officer.²⁷

Election to the Office. The usual practice of the Senate has been to elect as its President pro tempore a candidate of the majority party—almost invariably by a straight party vote. Most often, that person has continued to serve in the post so long as his party remains in the majority.

On a few occasions, the majority party has experienced great difficulty in electing its candidate. Late in 1881, for example, Democrats in the Senate refused to permit administration of the oath of office to several Republicans waiting to be sworn in as Senators. As a result of this maneuver, the Democrats maintained a narrow majority of the votes in the chamber and proceeded to elect one of their own, Delaware's Thomas F. Bayard, as President pro tempore. Even after the missing Republicans had been installed, the Senate remained equally divided between the two major parties. An arrangement was eventually agreed upon and an independent Senator, David Davis of Illinois, was elected to replace Bayard as President pro tempore.²⁸

²⁵U.S. Congress, *Senate Journal*, 50th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 165. See also "President Pro Tempore of the Senate," *Congressional Record*, vol. 21 (Mar. 12, 1890), pp. 2144-2150.

²⁶61 Stat. 380.

²⁷CRS Report 98-731, Presidential and Vice Presidential Succession.

²⁸U.S. Congress, *Senate Journal*, 47th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 7, 10, 14.

When the 62nd Congress convened in 1911, Republicans held a nominal majority of seats in the Senate. A faction of seven progressive Republicans, however, refused to vote for the regular Republican candidate for President pro tempore and their defection prevented election of a presiding officer. (While neither the Constitution nor the rules of the Senate explicitly exclude election of a President pro tempore by a plurality, the practice of the Senate has been to assume that a majority vote is required.) One observer noted:

After fifteen ballots, distributed through five days, compromise became necessary to enable business to go forward. Upon motion of a Republican leader, a Democrat was unanimously elected President *pro tempore* for a single day, and thereafter for the rest of the session, ending August 26, 1912, Presidents *pro tempore* were elected for brief, designated periods, Senator [Augustus] Bacon, Democrat, alternating with four Republicans, some of whom served for but a single day. In the short session which ended that sixty-second Congress, this alternating arrangement was continued, [Augustus] Bacon, Democrat, and [Jacob] Gallinger, Republican, each serving a fortnight at a time.²⁹

Service. Of the 13 Presidents pro tempore who have served since 1945, only one has not been the most senior Senator in his party—Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, was the second ranking Republican in the Senate at the time of his election in 1947.³⁰

Prior to 1945, while the parties had for the most part tended to put forward men with long senatorial service as candidates for President pro tempore, there were some notable exceptions. Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire ranked only 15th among Senate Republicans when he was elected President pro tempore in 1925, and Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa ranked only 12th when he was first chosen in 1919. In 1846, Senator David R. Atchison of Missouri was elected President pro tempore before he had completed half his first term as a Senator, and Senator Willard Saulsbury of Delaware was also still in his first term when the Senate elevated him to the post on December 14, 1916.

Even during the 19th century, the Senate sometimes elected Presidents pro tempore from among the longest serving members of the Senate. Men like Senators William P. Frye of Maine, John J. Ingalls of Kansas, Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, and Henry B. Anthony of Rhode Island had significant seniority when elected President pro tempore. That tradition continued and evolved in the 20th century, with the exceptions noted above. By the middle of the 20th century, the Senate was routinely electing as its President pro tempore *the* most senior Senator of the majority party.

²⁹Haynes, *The Senate of the United States*, 1, p. 252.

³⁰Arthur Capper of Kansas was the senior Republican Senator in 1947. Vandenberg, however, had been his party's choice for President pro tempore for several Congresses before the Republicans ascended to the majority in 1947. He was considered by party leaders more in the party's mainstream than Capper; and Capper, himself, was in poor health. Interview with Donald A. Ritchie, associate historian, Senate Historical Office, Oct. 19, 2000.

Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the most senior Republican in the 107th Congress, was one of two Senators in the 20th century to serve two nonconsecutive terms as President pro tempore, and one of two Senators in the post-war era to serve three non-consecutive terms. He first served from 1981 to 1987, and then was elected again at the beginning of the 104th Congress in 1995. Following the interim election of Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia (the most senior Democrat) to serve at the start of the 107th Congress (from January 3, 2001 to January 20, 2001), Senator Thurmond was again elected as President pro tempore to serve beginning at noon on January 20, 2001. Senator Thurmond is the oldest Senator to have held the office.

Senator Byrd, the only other Senator in the modern era to serve three non-consecutive terms, first served as President pro tempore from 1989 to 1995, prior to his tenure from January 3, 2001 to January 20, 2001. He was again elected President pro tempore in the 107th Congress on June 6, 2001, after Senator James Jeffords of Vermont left the Republican Party and became an Independent, and control of the Senate switched to the Democrats. Senator Kenneth McKellar from Tennessee, the other Senator to serve two non-consecutive terms, held the chair from 1945 to 1947, and again from 1949 to 1953.

Salary. In 1816, Congress for the first time accorded the President pro tempore a larger salary than that allotted to other Senators, but only when the office of Vice President was vacant.³¹ In 1818, the law was amended so that the President pro tempore would receive additional compensation for each day he presided over the Senate, whether the office of Vice President was vacant, or the Vice President was absent.³²

In 1845, and again in 1854, when the office of the Vice President was vacant, the Senate in each case adopted a resolution authorizing compensation for the President pro tempore that was equal to that established by law for the Vice President.³³ The practice of compensating Presidents pro tempore at the same rate as the Vice President when the vice presidency is vacant was confirmed in law on August 16, 1856.³⁴ In 1969, the salary of the President pro tempore was fixed at the same level as that of the majority and minority leaders of both houses.³⁵ When a vacancy exists in the office of the Vice President, the President pro tempore receives the salary provided the Vice President.³⁶ The current salary of the President pro tempore is \$157,000. If there is no Vice President, it is \$181,400³⁷

³¹3 Stat. 257.

³²3 Stat. 404.

³³U.S. Congress, *Senate Journal*, 28th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 243; also, *Senate Journal*, 33rd Cong., 2nd sess., p. 31.

³⁴11 Stat. 48.

³⁵83 Stat. 107.

³⁶11 Stat. 48.

³⁷103 Stat. 1769, Ethics Reform Act of 1989 (P.L. 101-194, Nov. 30, 1989), codified at 2 (continued...)

Power, Authority, and Responsibilities of the President Pro Tempore

The President pro tempore lacks the formal institutional and political powers of the Speaker of the House—the congressional officer to whom he is often compared. Nor does he have the stature and authority of the major party leaders in the Senate, especially the majority and minority floor leaders. Nevertheless, the Constitution, public law, the chamber's rules and precedents, and Senate customs provide the President pro tempore a significant role to play in the life of the Senate.

Power and Authority as Presiding Officer. For about 10 years, from late 1823 to late 1833, Presidents pro tempore enjoyed the privilege of appointing the membership of the Senate's standing committees at the beginning of a session.³⁸ Several times during the later years of this period the rule was partially suspended so that the Senate could elect the President pro tempore to a chairmanship.³⁹ The President pro tempore also evidently appointed Senators to committees in 1838, 1843, and 1863.⁴⁰

As a presiding officer, the powers and prerogatives of the President pro tempore historically have differed little from those of the Vice President. One notable exception involves the privilege of appointing a substitute to perform the duties of the chair. From 1820 until 1883, the Senate operated under a rule stating, in part, that "the Presiding Officer shall have the right to name a Senator to perform the duties of the Chair, but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment."

That rule was subsequently amended to restrict the privilege solely to the President pro tempore.⁴² Moreover, the Senate had many times previously honored the request of a President pro tempore that another Senator take his place for a day or longer, while denying the same privilege to the Vice President.⁴³

³⁷(...continued) U.S.C. 31(2)(A).

³⁸Furber, *Precedents*, pp. 335-336; Haynes, *The Senate of the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 273-275.

³⁹Henry H. Gilfrey, *Precedents: Decisions on Points of Order with Phraseology ... 1789-1913*, 62nd Cong., 3rd sess., S.Doc. 1123 (Washington: GPO., 1914), p. 268.

⁴⁰Furber, *Precedents*, pp. 337, 339.

⁴¹U.S. Congress, *Senate Journal*, 16th Cong., 1st sess., p. 63.

⁴²"Rule 1: Appointment of a Senator to the Chair," *Congressional Record*, vol. 15 (Dec. 18, 1883), pp. 160-163; and "Amendment to Rule 1," Ibid., Jan. 7, 1884, p. 237.

⁴³For an example of the Senate's refusal to accept a direct substitution made by the Vice President, see the incident of January 11, 1847, when the Senate ignored a letter from Vice President George M. Dallas designating Senator David R. Atchison to preside for that day, defeated a resolution appointing Atchison President pro tempore, and then proceeded to elect Atchison to the post by ballot. See U.S. Congress, *Senate Journal*, 29th Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 161-164. For examples of action by the President pro tempore to appoint (continued...)

In 1902, the rules were further amended to empower the President pro tempore to designate a Senator to perform the duties of the chair for an unspecified time during a vacancy in the office of Vice President.⁴⁴ Usually the President pro tempore designates members of his own party to replace him in the chair, but not always. In a notable exception, President pro tempore Carl Hayden, a Democrat, once appointed Republican Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont to preside for a day.⁴⁵

Under the Constitution, the Vice President may cast a vote in the Senate only when the body is equally divided.⁴⁶ The question of whether or not a President pro tempore retained his vote while he was performing the duties of his office was clarified by a Senate resolution adopted on April 19, 1792, which declared that he retained "his right to vote upon all questions."⁴⁷

In the modern Senate, with the exception of his authority to appoint other Senators to preside, the President pro tempore's powers as presiding officer differ little from those of the Vice-President, or any other Senator who presides over the Senate. These powers include the authority to:

- Recognize Senators desiring to speak, introduce bills, or offer amendments and motions to bills being debated. The presiding officer's power of recognition is much more limited than that of the House Speaker or whomever presides in the House. In the Senate, the presiding officer is required by Rule XIX to recognize the first Senator on his feet and seeking recognition.⁴⁸ By tradition, leaders and committee managers are given precedence in recognition;
- Decide points of order, subject to appeal by the full Senate;
- Appoint Senators to House-Senate conference committees, although this functions is largely ministerial. Conferees are almost always first determined by the floor managers of the bill and then approved on the floor by unanimous consent. A list of the appointments is then provided to the chair;

⁴³(...continued) substitutes, see Furber, *Precedents*, pp. 186-188.

⁴⁴Senate Rule I(3). The rule today reads: "The President pro tempore shall have the right to name in open Senate, or, if absent, in writing, a Senator to perform the duties of the Chair, including the signing of duly enrolled bills and joint resolutions but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment, except by unanimous consent; and the Senator so named shall have the right to name in open session, or if absent, in writing, a Senator to perform the duties of the Chair, but not to extend beyond an adjournment, except by unanimous consent."

⁴⁵"Designation of Acting President Pro Tempore," *Congressional Record*, vol. 112 (Aug. 23, 1966), p. 20275.

⁴⁶U.S. Constitution, Article I, Sec. 3.

⁴⁷U.S. Congress, *Senate Journal*, 2nd Cong., 1st sess., p. 429.

⁴⁸Senate Rule XIX(1)(a).

- Enforce decorum;
- Administer oaths; and
- Appoint members to special committees, again, after initial determinations are made by the majority and minority leaders.⁴⁹

Position as Presidential Successor. In the earliest years of the nation, the President pro tempore was not included in the order of succession, which at first extended only as far as the Vice President. The Succession Act of 1792 designated, after the Vice President, the President pro tempore and the Speaker of the House, in that order. A later statute, the Succession Act of 1886 transferred succession after the Vice President from the President pro tempore and the Speaker to the cabinet officers in the chronological order in which their departments had been created. With the passage of the Succession Act of 1947, the President pro tempore was restored as a successor to the presidency after the Vice President and Speaker of the House.

Although ratification of the 25th Amendment in 1967 did not supplant the order of succession established by the Presidential Succession Act of 1947, it empowered the President to nominate a Vice President whenever that office is vacant, and rendered it unlikely that the President pro tempore would become President except in the event of an unprecedented national catastrophe.⁵³

Other Duties and Responsibilities. Over the years, other powers have also accrued to the President pro tempore. Many of these are formal or ministerial. Decisions are first made by each party's principal political leaders—in the Senate, the majority and minority floor leaders—and the President pro tempore's charge is to implement their decisions. These include appointments to the following positions:

- Director of the Congressional Budget Office (made jointly with the Speaker of the House);
- Senate legislative counsel and legal counsel;
- Senators to serve on trade delegations; and

⁴⁹Details of these powers can be found in *Senate Manual Containing the Standing Rules, Orders, Laws and Resolutions Affecting the Business of the U.S. Senate*, 106th Cong., 1st sess., S.Doc. 106-1 (Washington: GPO, 2000); and Floyd M. Riddick and Alan S. Frumin, *Riddick's Senate Procedure: Precedents and Practices*, 101st Cong., 1st sess., S.Doc. 101-28 (Washington: GPO, 1992).

⁵⁰1 Stat. 240.

⁵¹24 Stat. 1.

⁵²61 Stat 380. At the time, President Harry S. Truman argued that it was more appropriate and democratic to have popularly elected officials first in line to succeed, rather than appointed cabinet officers.

⁵³CRS Report 98-731, Presidential and Vice Presidential Succession, pp. 3-6.

• certain commissions, advisory boards, and committees, such as the boards of visitors to the U.S. military academies; the American Folklife Center; and the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

The President pro tempore is responsible for recommending candidates to be U.S. Comptroller General, the head of the General Accounting Office (GAO). The President pro tempore jointly supervises, with a House officer selected by the Speaker, the activities of the congressional page school.⁵⁴

Following the recommendation of the Senate majority and minority leaders, he appoints members of the Senate to the United States Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.⁵⁵

Under statute, the President pro tempore also makes recommendations for membership to the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence In National Environmental Policy Foundation, and the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Program. Similarly, he makes appointments to the National Commission on Social Security, the Social Security Advisory Board, the Advisory Council on Unemployment Compensation, the National Commission on Children, the Commission on International Religious Freedom, and the board of the Christopher Columbus Fellowship Foundation. The Commission of the Christopher Columbus Fellowship Foundation.

The President pro tempore is authorized to receive certain reports from government offices. Examples of these include:

- a report pursuant to research efforts by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to prevent pollution of shellfish beds;⁵⁸
- an annual report pursuant to a Department of Agriculture program to improve conservation and sustainable agriculture in Latin America and the Caribbean;⁵⁹and,
- an annual report on juvenile justice and delinquency prevention programs. 60

After the President has submitted a report pursuant to the War Powers Act, the President pro tempore and the Speaker of the House have the authority to request jointly that the President convene Congress in order to consider the content of the

⁵⁴For the above, see *Senate Manual Containing the Standing Rules* ..., and Riddick and Frumin, *Riddick's Senate Procedure*

⁵⁵²² U.S.C. 276m.

⁵⁶20 U.S.C. 5603 and 20 U.S.C. 4502.

⁵⁷42 U.S.C. 907a, 42 U.S.C. 903, 42 U.S.C. 1108, 42 U.S.C. 1320b-9, 22 U.S.C. 6431, and 20 U.S. C. 5702.

⁵⁸33 U.S.C. 2407.

⁵⁹7 U.S.C. 1738(m).

⁶⁰42 U.S.C. 5617.

report and to take appropriate action.⁶¹ The President pro tempore also prepares a report pursuant to the War Powers Resolution setting forth the circumstances, constitutional authority, and estimated scope and duration relating to American forces involved in foreign hostilities.⁶²

The President pro tempore is a member of certain commissions, boards and committees, including:

- Senate Commission on Art:
- U.S. Capitol Preservation Commission;
- commission to recommend individuals to be Architect of the Capitol; and
- congressional Joint Leadership Group. 63

Also, the President pro tempore works with the Secretary of the Senate and the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate to ensure the enforcement of the rules governing the use of the Capitol and the Senate office buildings.⁶⁴

For many years the President pro tempore held the "patronage book," as it was called, and had considerable influence in the distribution of patronage for positions that today are filled by professional staff. Carl Hayden of Arizona, who served as President pro tempore from 1957 to 1969, was the last President pro tempore to exercise this authority. 65

Finally, in his history of the Senate, Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, who has served as President pro tempore three times since 1989, notes that: "Because the president pro tempore stands in the line of presidential succession, he is given a direct-access telephone to the White House and would receive special evacuation assistance from Washington in the case of national emergency." 66

Political Influence of the Office. Senator Arthur Vandenberg, who held the position from 1947 to 1949, was seen as one of the few Presidents pro tempore up to that time who exerted significant political influence. Floyd M. Riddick, a scholar of congressional procedure who later became Senate parliamentarian, wrote in 1949 that Vandenberg, who chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee while serving as President pro tempore, "took quite an important part in the legislative program and no doubt exerted as much influence in what was done and not done as the Speaker

⁶¹⁵⁰ U.S.C. 1544 (a).

⁶²50 U.S.C. 1543.

⁶³Senate Manual, pp., 336, 763,781,785.

⁶⁴Byrd, *The Senate*, 1789-1989, vol. 2, p. 183.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 182.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

of the House."⁶⁷ Vandenberg, Riddick emphasized, "was firm in his rulings, of which all but one or two stood as the decision of the Senate, even though several appeals were taken; he participated in discussions of the pending legislation from the chair, perhaps to an unprecedented extent during any Congress of recent years"⁶⁸

More recently, Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, despite being hospitalized for much of his term as President pro tempore (1969-1971), was seen as wielding power "potentially equal" to that of Vandenberg through his chairmanships of the Appropriations Committee and its Defense Appropriations Subcommittee.⁶⁹

Today, the degree of political influence exerted by the President pro tempore depends more on other factors in conjunction with a Senator's position as President pro tempore, than solely on election to that office. The most important of these are a Senator's position as a senior member of his party, and as a committee chairman. As the most senior Senator of the majority party, his chairmanship is likely to be significant. For example, during the years he was President pro tempore for the first time (1989-1995), Senator Byrd was also chairman of the Appropriations Committee. When the Senate switched from Republican to Democratic control on June 6, 2001, Senator Byrd was elected President pro tempore and returned to chair the Appropriations Committee. As President pro tempore, Senator Thurmond chaired the Judiciary Committee from 1981 to 1987, and from 1995 to 1999, the Armed Services Committee.⁷⁰

As Senator Byrd has remarked, "Because of his position as a senior member of the party, and often the chairman of a key committee, the leadership regularly consults the president pro tempore as to his views on policies and actions of the party."

Republicans as well as Democrats consider the President pro tempore an exofficio member of the party leadership, including the respective caucus and conference, policy committees and steering committees. In these capacities, the President pro tempore may work closely with the party floor leader.

⁶⁷Floyd M. Riddick, *The United States Congress: Organization and Procedure* (Washington: National Capitol Publishing Co., 1949), p. 67.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Congressional Quarterly's Guide to Congress, 3rd edition (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1982), p. 393.

⁷⁰See S.Res. 12, adopted Jan. 7, 1999; "Senate Resolution 12–Making Majority Party Appointments To Senate Committees for the 106th Congress," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 145 (Jan. 7, 1999), p. S45.

⁷¹Sen. Robert C. Byrd, "The United States Senate: The President Pro Tempore and the Vice President," *Congressional Record*, vol. 126 (May 21, 1980), p. 11910.

Offices of the Deputy President Pro Tempore, the Permanent Acting President Pro Tempore, and the President Pro Tempore Emeritus

Office of the Deputy President Pro Tempore. On January 10, 1977, the Senate adopted S.Res. 17, a resolution creating an office of Deputy President pro tempore of the Senate.⁷² The office was created to honor Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, a Democratic Party stalwart, who had served as both Vice President, and a presidential candidate in 1968. Humphrey served in the Senate from 1949 to 1964 and from 1971 until his death in January 1978.

The resolution provided that "any Member of the Senate who has held the Office of President of the United States or Vice President of the United States shall be a Deputy President pro tempore." Although the resolution did not specifically enumerate the duties and responsibilities of the new office, the Deputy President pro tempore was subsequently provided a staff, ⁷⁴ given a salary increase to the level of the Majority Leader, and in the event of the absence of the Vice President and the President pro tempore, authorized to preside over the Senate and sign bills as well as resolutions without a specific authorization from the President pro tempore. ⁷⁵

Senator Humphrey served as Deputy President pro tempore from January 5, 1977 until his death on January 13, 1978. The position was next filled by Senator George J. Mitchell, Democrat of Maine, who was appointed at the start of the 100th Congress. The elected President pro tempore for the 100th Congress was Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi, the most senior Democratic Senator but in poor health. Senate leaders were concerned that Senator Stennis' poor health might prevent him from fulfilling some of the responsibilities of the office, particularly the President pro tempore's principal responsibility for presiding over the Senate. Senator Mitchell was appointed to assure that a presiding officer would be available all times. Senator Mitchell served as Deputy President pro tempore from 1987 until

⁷²"Establishment of the Office of Deputy President Pro Tempore of the Senate," *Congressional Record*, vol. 123 (Jan. 10, 1977), p. 457.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid. Staffing authority was enacted into law by P. L. 95-26, 91 Stat. 80.

⁷⁵P.L. 95-26, 91 Stat. 79.

⁷⁶Although the resolution establishing the Office of the Deputy President pro tempore (S.Res. 27) was approved on Jan. 11, 1977, the effective date was Jan. 5, 1977. "Senate Resolution 27—Electing a Deputy President Pro Tempore of the Senate," *Congressional Record*, vol. 123 (Jan. 11, 1977), p. 756.

⁷⁷Interview with Donald A. Ritchie, associate historian, Senate Historical Office, Jan. 2, 2001.

he was elected Majority Leader for the 101^{st} Congress on November 29, 1988.⁷⁸ The position has not been filled since that date.

Office of the Permanent Acting President Pro Tempore. In early 1963, the Senate began debate on what became the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. The President pro tempore at the time was Carl T. Hayden of Arizona, then 86 years old. Early on, Majority Leader Michael J. (Mike) Mansfield of Montana expressed concern about Hayden's age and physical stamina during what was likely to be a long and difficult debate. In February 1963, Mansfield told a group of visitors that should a round-the-clock filibuster develop, as it eventually did, he did not want to be responsible for the elderly Hayden's demise. Subsequently, in a series of resolutions introduced by Mansfield beginning in June 1963, Senator Lee W. Metcalf of Montana was named acting President pro tempore. Before his designation, Metcalf was one of a regular group of Senators serving in rotation as presiding officer.

Mansfield chose Metcalf for several reasons. Metcalf was relatively young and vigorous; he lived in an apartment across the street from the Senate and could be called quickly to preside over late night sessions. As Mansfield's junior colleague from Montana, he was trustworthy and unlikely to rule against the majority floor leader.⁸¹

On February 7, 1964, the Senate approved a resolution, S.Res. 296, which authorized Senator Metcalf to be "Acting President pro tempore until otherwise ordered by the Senate." On March 31, more than two months before cloture on the civil rights bill was finally invoked, but after a strenuous period of parliamentary

⁷⁸ Sen. Mitchell was recommended for the position of Deputy President pro tempore by Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd. See Byrd, *The Senate 1789-1989*, vol. 2, p. 182. See also, S.Res. 90, and S.Res 91, adopted Jan. 28, 1987 (Sen. Robert C. Byrd, "Designation of A Deputy President Pro Tempore of the Senate and Designation of Senator George S. Mitchell As Deputy President Pro Tempore of The Senate," *Congressional Record*, vol. 133 (Jan. 28, 1987), pp. 2167-2168).

⁷⁹Charles Whalen and Barbara Whalen, *The Longest Debate; A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (Washington: Seven Locks Press, 1985), p. 129.

⁸⁰See the following resolutions: S.Res. 155, adopted June 10, 1963 (Senator Mike Mansfield, "Continuation of Authority of Acting President Pro Tempore Beyond Adjournment of Senate Today," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109. June 10, 1963, p. 10444); S.Res. 232, adopted Dec. 9, 1963 (Senator Mike Mansfield, "Designation of Senator Metcalf As Acting President Pro Tempore During the Remainder of the Present Session of the Congress," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109 (Dec. 9, 1963), p. 23754); S.Res. 238, adopted Dec. 20, 1963 (Senator Mike Mansfield, "To Continue Authority of Acting President Pro Tempore Until Next Session of Congress," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109 (Dec. 20, 1963), pp. 25254-25255); and S.Res. 296, adopted Feb. 7, 1964 (Senator Mike Mansfield, "Designation of Senator Metcalf As Acting President Pro Tempore," *Congressional Record*, vol. 110 (Feb. 7, 1964), p. 2401).

⁸¹Interview with Donald A. Ritchie, associate historian, Senate Historical Office, July 28, 2000; and Whalen, *The Longest Debate*, pp. 126, 199.

maneuvering, Senator Mansfield spoke on the floor of Senator Metcalf's role as presiding officer:

The role of the Presiding Officer of the U.S. Senate has had its ups and downs in the history of this legislative body. In recent years, and more particularly in recent weeks, the Presiding Officer has assumed a position of renewed importance. The man most responsible for this new role is my distinguished colleague from Montana, Senator Metcalf.

Senator Metcalf, in his role as Acting President pro tempore, brings vigor, [and] knowledge of the legislative process to a position which all too often is looked upon as a chore.⁸²

Senator Metcalf served as Permanent Acting President pro tempore and presided frequently over the Senate in that capacity until his death in January 1978.⁸³ The office has not been filled since then.

Office of the President Pro Tempore Emeritus. In May 2001, Senator James Jeffords of Vermont changed his party affiliation from Republican to Independent, and the Senate, until then evenly divided (and operating under a series of formal and informal power sharing agreements), switched to Democratic control. On June 6, the Senate elected Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, to be the President pro tempore. At the same time, Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, who had served as President pro tempore since January 20, 2001, was elected President pro tempore Emeritus.

The practice of electing a Senator as President pro tempore Emeritus continued in the 108 th Congress. Senator Byrd was elected to the office on January 15, 2003. 86

⁸² "Senator Metcalf—A Strong Presiding Officer," *Congressional Record*, vol. 110 (March 31, 1964), p. 6609.

⁸³Interview with Donald A. Ritchie, associate historian, Senate Historical Office, Jan. 2, 2001.

⁸⁴See S.Res. 100, adopted June 6, 2001. "Election of the Honorable Robert C. Byrd as President Pro Tempore," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 147, p. S5843.

⁸⁵See S.Res. 103, adopted June 6, 2001. "Thanking and Electing Strom Thurmond President Pro Tempore Emeritus," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 147, p. S5844.

⁸⁶See S. Res. 21, adopted Jan. 15, 2003. "Thanks to the Honorable Robert C. Byrd and His Designation as President Pro Tempore Emeritus," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 149, p. S843.

Table 1: Presidents Pro Tempore of the Senate, 1789-2003

Name	Party ^a	State	Congress	Date Elected
John Langdon	Pro-Admin/ Anti-Admin/ R(DR)	NH	1 st	April 6, 1789
Richard Henry Lee	Anti-Admin	VA	2 nd	April 18, 1792
John Langdon	Pro-Admin/ Anti-Admin/ R(DR)	NH	2 nd	November 5, 1792
John Langdon		NH	2^{nd}	March 1, 1793
Ralph Izard	Pro-Admin	SC	3 rd	May 31, 1794
Henry Tazewell	Anti-Admin/ R(DR)	VA	3 rd	February 20, 1795
Henry Tazewell		VA	4 th	December 7, 1795
Samuel Livermore	Pro-Admin/F	NH	4 th	May 6, 1796
William Bingham	F	PA	4 th	February 16, 1797
William Bradford	Pro-Admin/F	RI	5 th	July 6, 1797
Jacob Read	F	SC	5 th	November 22, 1797
Theodore Sedgwick	F	MA	5 th	June 27, 1789
John Laurance	F	NY	5 th	December 6, 1789
James Ross	Pro-Admin/F	PA	5 th	March 1, 1799
Samuel Livermore	Pro-Admin/F	NH	6 th	December 22, 1799
Uriah Tracy	F	СТ	6 th	May 14, 1800
John E. Howard	F	MD	6 th	November 21, 1800
James Hillhouse	F	СТ	6 th	February 28, 1801
Abraham Baldwin	R	GA	7 th	December 7, 1801
Stephen R. Bradley	Anti-Admin/ R(DR)	VT	7 th	December 14, 1802
Stephen R. Bradley		VT	$7^{\rm th}$	February 25, 1803
Stephen R. Bradley		VT	7^{th}	March 2, 1803
John Brown	Anti-Admin	KY	8 th	October 17, 1803
John Brown	Anti-Admin	KY	8 th	January 23, 1804
Jesse Franklin	R(DR)	NC	8 th	March 10, 1804

Name	Party ^a	State	Congress	Date Elected
Joseph Anderson	R(DR)	TN	8 th	January 15, 1805
Joseph Anderson	R(DR)	TN	8 th	February 28, 1805
Joseph Anderson	R(DR)	TN	8 th	March 2, 1805
Samuel Smith	R(DR)/J	MD	9 th	December 2, 1805
Samuel Smith		MD	9 th	March 18, 1806
Samuel Smith		MD	9 th	March 2, 1807
Samuel Smith		MD	10 th	April 16, 1808
Stephen R. Bradley	Anti-Admin/ R(DR)	VT	10 th	December 28, 1808
John Milledge	R(DR)	GA	10 th	January 30, 1809
Andrew Gregg	R(DR)	PA	11 th	June 26, 1809
John Gaillard	R(DR)/J	SC	11 th	February 28, 1810
John Gaillard		SC	11 th	April 17, 1810
John Pope	R(DR)	KY	11 th	February 23, 1811
William H. Crawford	R(DR)	GA	12 th	March 24, 1812
Joseph B. Varnum	R(DR)	MA	13 th	December 6, 1813
John Gaillard	R(DR)/J	SC	13 th	April 18, 1814
John Gaillard		SC	13 th	November 25, 1814 ^b
John Gaillard		SC	14 th	[no election]
John Gaillard		SC	15 th	March 6, 1817
John Gaillard		SC	15 th	March 31, 1918
James Barbour	R(DR)	VA	15 th	February 15, 1819
James Barbour		VA	16 th	[no election]
John Gaillard	R(DR)/J	SC	16 th	January 25, 1820
John Gaillard		SC	17 th	February 1, 1822
John Gaillard		SC	17 th	February 19, 1823
John Gaillard		SC	18 th	May 21, 1824
John Gaillard		SC	19 th	March 9, 1825
Nathaniel Macon	R(DR)/J	NC	19 th	May 20, 1826

Name	Party ^a	State	Congress	Date Elected
Nathaniel Macon		NC	19 th	January 2, 1827
Nathaniel Macon		NC	19 th	March 2, 1827
Samuel Smith	R(DR)/J	MD	20 th	May 15, 1828
Samuel Smith		MD	21 st	March 13, 1829
Samuel Smith		MD	21 st	May 29, 1830
Samuel Smith		MD	21 st	March 1, 1831
Littleton Tazewell	JR/J	VA	22 nd	July 9, 1832
Hugh L. White	J/AJ/W	TN	22 nd	December 3, 1832
Hugh L. White		TN	23 rd	[no election]
George Poindexter	J/AJ	MS	23 rd	June 28, 1834
John Tyler	J/AJ	VA	23 rd	March 3, 1835
William R. King	R(DR)J/D	AL	24 th	July 1, 1836
William R. King		AL	24 th	January 28, 1837
William R. King		AL	25 th	March 7, 1837
William R. King		AL	25 th	October 13, 1837
William R. King		AL	25 th	July 2, 1838
William R. King		AL	25 th	February 25, 1839
William R. King		AL	26 th	July 3, 1840
William R. King		AL	26 th	March 3, 1841
William R. King		AL	27 th	March 4, 1841
Samuel Southard	R(DR)W	NJ	27 th	March 11, 1841
Willie P. Mangum	J/AJ/W	NC	27 th	May 31, 1842
Willie P. Mangum		NC	28 th	[no election]
Ambrose H. Sevier	J/D	AR	29 th	December 27, 1845 °
David R. Atchison	D	МО	29 th	August 8, 1846
David R. Atchison	D	МО	29 th	January 11, 1847
David R. Atchison	D	MO	29 th	March 3, 1847
David R. Atchison	D	МО	30 th	February 2, 1848
David R. Atchison	D	МО	30 th	June 1, 1848
David R. Atchison	D	MO	30 th	June 26, 1848

Name	Party ^a	State	Congress	Date Elected
David R. Atchison	D	MO	30 th	July 29, 1848
David R. Atchison	D	МО	30 th	December 26, 1848
David R. Atchison	D	MO	30 th	March 2, 1849
David R. Atchison	D	МО	31 st	March 5, 1849
David R. Atchison	D	МО	31 st	March 16, 1849
William R. King	R(DR)J/D	AL	31 st	May 6, 1850
William R. King		AL	31 st	July 11, 1850
William R. King		AL	32 nd	[no election]
David R. Atchison	D	МО	32 nd	December 20, 1852
David R. Atchison	D	МО	33 rd	March 4, 1853
Lewis Cass	D	MI	33 rd	December 4, 1854
Jesse D. Bright	D	IN	33 rd	December 5, 1854
Jesse D. Bright	D	IN	34 th	June 11, 1856
Charles E. Stuart	D	MI	34 th	June 9, 1856
James M. Mason	D	VA	34 th	January 6, 1857
James M. Mason	D	VA	35 th	March 4, 1857
Thomas J. Rusk	D	TX	35 th	March 14, 1857
Benjamin Fitzpatrick	D	AL	35 th	December 7, 1857
Benjamin Fitzpatrick	D	AL	35 th	March 29, 1858
Benjamin Fitzpatrick	D	AL	35 th	June 14, 1858
Benjamin Fitzpatrick	D	AL	35 th	January 25, 1858
Benjamin Fitzpatrick	D	AL	36 th	March 9, 1859
Benjamin Fitzpatrick	D	AL	36 th	December 19, 1859
Benjamin Fitzpatrick	D	AL	36 th	February 20, 1860
Jesse D. Bright	D	IN	36 th	June 12, 1860
Benjamin Fitzpatrick	D	AL	36 th	June 26, 1860
Solomon Foot	W/OP/R	VT	36 th	February 16, 1861
Solomon Foot		VT	37 th	March 23, 1861
Solomon Foot		VT	37^{th}	July 18, 1861
Solomon Foot		VT	37 th	January 15, 1862

Name	Party ^a	State	Congress	Date Elected
Solomon Foot		VT	37 th	March 31, 1862
Solomon Foot		VT	37 th	June 19, 1862
Solomon Foot		VT	37 th	February 18, 1863
Solomon Foot		VT	38 th	March 4, 1863
Solomon Foot		VT	38 th	December 18, 1863
Solomon Foot		VT	38 th	February 23, 1864
Solomon Foot		VT	38 th	April 11, 1864
Daniel Clark	R	NH	38 th	April 26, 1864
Daniel Clark	R	NH	38 th	February 9, 1865
Lafayette S. Foster	OP/R	CT	39 th	March 7, 1865
Benjamin F. Wade	W/OP/R	ОН	39 th	March 2, 1867
Benjamin F. Wade		ОН	40 th	[no election]
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	41 st	March 23, 1869
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	41 st	April 9, 1869
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	41 st	May 28, 1870
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	41 st	July 1, 1870
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	41 st	July 14, 1870
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	March 10, 1871
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	April 17, 1871
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	May 23, 1871
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	December 21, 1871
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	February 23, 1872
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	June 8, 1872
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	December 4, 1872
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	December 13, 1872
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	December 20, 1872
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	42 nd	January 24, 1873
Matthew H. Carpenter	R	WI	43 rd	March 12, 1873
Matthew H. Carpenter	R	WI	43 rd	March 26, 1873
Matthew H. Carpenter	R	WI	43 rd	December 11, 1873

Name	Party ^a	State	Congress	Date Elected
Matthew H. Carpenter	R	WI	43 rd	December 23, 1874
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	43 rd	January 25, 1875
Henry B. Anthony	R	RI	43 rd	February 15, 1875
Thomas W. Ferry	R	MI	44 th	March 9, 1875
Thomas W. Ferry	R	MI	44 th	March 19, 1875
Thomas W. Ferry	R	MI	44 th	December 20, 1875
Thomas W. Ferry	R	MI	45 th	March 5, 1877
Thomas W. Ferry	R	MI	45 th	February 26, 1878
Thomas W. Ferry	R	MI	45 th	April 17, 1878
Thomas W. Ferry	R	MI	45 th	March 3, 1879
Allen G. Thurman	D	ОН	46 th	April 15, 1879
Allen G. Thurman	D	ОН	46 th	April 7, 1880
Allen G. Thurman	D	ОН	46 th	May 6, 1880
Thomas F. Bayard, Sr.	D	DE	47 th	October 10, 1881
David Davis	I	IL	47 th	October 13, 1881
George F. Edmonds	R	VT	47 th	March 3, 1883
George F. Edmonds	R	VT	48 th	January 14, 1884
John Sherman	R	ОН	49 th	December 7, 1885
John J. Ingalls	R	KS	49 th	February 25, 1887
John J. Ingalls	R	KS	50 th	[no election]
John J. Ingalls	R	KS	51st	March 7, 1889
John J. Ingalls	R	KS	51 st	April 2, 1889
John J. Ingalls	R	KS	51 st	February 28, 1890
John J. Ingalls	R	KS	51 st	April 3, 1890 ^d
Charles F. Manderson	R	NE	51 st	March 2, 1891
Charles F. Manderson	R	NE	52 nd	[no election]
Charles F. Manderson	R	NE	53 rd	[no election]
Isham G. Harris	D	TN	53 rd	March 22, 1893
Matt W. Ransom	D	NC	53 rd	January 7, 1895
Isham G. Harris	D	TN	53 rd	January 10, 1895

Name	Party ^a	State	Congress	Date Elected
William P. Frye	R	ME	54 th	February 7, 1896
William P. Frye	R	ME	55 th	[no election]
William P. Frye	R	ME	56 th	[no election]
William P. Frye	R	ME	57 th	March 7, 1901
William P. Frye	R	ME	58 th	[no election]
William P. Frye	R	ME	59 th	[no election]
William P. Frye	R	ME	60 th	December 5, 1907
William P. Frye	R	ME	61 st	[no election]
William P. Frye	R	ME	62 nd	[no election]
Charles Curtis	R	KS	62 nd	December 4, 1911
Augustus O. Bacon	D	GA	62 nd	January 15, 1912
Jacob H. Gallinger	R	NH	62 nd	February 12, 1912
Henry Cabot Lodge	R	MA	62 nd	March 25, 1912
Frank B. Brandegee	R	CT	62 nd	May 25, 1912
James P. Clarke	D	AR	63 rd	March 13, 1913
James P. Clarke	D	AR	64 th	December 6, 1915
Willard Saulsbury, Jr.	D	DE	64 th	December 14, 1916
Willard Saulsbury, Jr.	D	DE	65 th	[no election]
Albert B. Cummins	R	IA	66 th	May 19, 1919
Albert B. Cummins	R	IA	67 th	March 7, 1921
Albert B. Cummins	R	IA	68 th	[no election]
Albert B. Cummins	R	IA	69 th	[no election]
George H. Moses	R	NH	69 th	March 6, 1925
George H. Moses	R	NH	70 th	December 15, 1927
George H. Moses	R	NH	71 st	[no election]
George H. Moses	R	NH	72 nd	[no election]
Key Pittman	D	NV	73 rd	March 9, 1933
Key Pittman	D	NV	74 th	January 7, 1935
Key Pittman	D	NV	75 th	[no election]
Key Pittman	D	NV	76 th	[no election]

Name	Party ^a	State	Congress	Date Elected
William H. King	D	UT	76 th	November 19, 1940
Pat Harrison	D	MS	77 th	January 6, 1941
Carter Glass	D	VA	77 th	July 10, 1941
Carter Glass	D	VA	78 th	January 5, 1943
Kenneth D. McKellar	D	TN	79 th	January 6, 1945
Arthur Vandenberg	R	MI	80 th	January 4, 1947
Kenneth D. McKellar	D	TN	81 st	January 3, 1949
Kenneth D. McKellar	D	TN	82 nd	[no election]
Styles Bridges	R	NH	83 rd	January 3, 1953
Walter F. George	D	GA	84 th	January 5, 1955
Carl T. Hayden	D	AZ	85 th	January 3, 1957
Carl T. Hayden	D	AZ	86 th	[no election]
Carl T. Hayden	D	AZ	87 th	[no election]
Carl T. Hayden	D	AZ	88 th	[no election]
Carl T. Hayden	D	AZ	89 th	[no election]
Carl T. Hayden	D	AZ	90 th	[no election]
Richard B. Russell, Jr.	D	GA	91 st	January 3, 1969
Richard B. Russell, Jr.	D	GA	92 nd	[no election]
Allen J. Ellender	D	LA	92 nd	January 22, 1971
James O. Eastland	D	MS	92 nd	July 28, 1972
James O. Eastland	D	MS	93 rd	[no election]
James O. Eastland	D	MS	94 th	[no election]
James O. Eastland	D	MS	95 th	[no election]
Warren G. Magnuson	D	WA	96 th	January 15, 1979
Milton R. Young	R	ND	96 th	December 4, 1980 ^e
Strom Thurmond	ID/D/R	SC	97 th	January 5, 1981
Strom Thurmond		SC	98 th	[no election]
Strom Thurmond		SC	99 th	[no election]
John C. Stennis	D	MS	100 th	January 6, 1987
Robert C. Byrd	D	WV	101 st	January 3, 1989

Name	Party ^a	State	Congress	Date Elected
Robert C. Byrd	D	WV	102 nd	[no election]
Robert C. Byrd	D	WV	103 rd	[no election]
Strom Thurmond	R	SC	104 th	January 4, 1995
Strom Thurmond	R	SC	105 th	[no election]
Strom Thurmond	R	SC	106 th	[no election]
Robert C. Byrd	D	WV	107 th	January 3, 2001 - January 20, 2001
Strom Thurmond	R	SC	107 th	January 20, 2001- June 6, 2001
Robert C. Byrd	D	WV	107 th	June 6, 2001- January 7, 2003
Ted Stevens	R	AK	108 th	January 7, 2003

Source: The principal source for this table is Byrd's *Historical Statistics*, pp. 647-653.

Notes: Until 1890, the Senate elected a President pro tempore whenever the Vice President was not in attendance, whether for a day, or permanently, as in the case of the Vice President's death or resignation. When the Vice President returned, the President pro tempore lost his place. Then, when the Vice President was again absent, the Senate again elected a President pro tempore, in many cases the same Senator who had been chosen before. By the standing order agreed to on March 12, 1890, the Senate declared that the President pro tempore shall hold the office during "the pleasure of the Senate and until another is elected, and shall execute the duties thereof during all future absences of the Vice President until the Senate does otherwise order."

- a. A key to party abbreviations can be found in the Appendix.
- b. Gaillard was elected after the death of Vice President Elbridge Gerry and continued to serve throughout the 14th Congress, as there was no Vice President.
- c. There was no actual election. Sevier was "permitted to occupy the chair for the day." Gamm and Smith differ with respect to Sevier's service. See Gamm and Smith, "Last Among Equals," "Table 1: Presidents Pro Tempore of the Senate."
- d. As noted above, in March 1890, the Senate adopted a resolution stating that Presidents pro tempore would hold office continuously until the election of another President pro tempore, rather than being elected only for the period in which the Vice President was absent. That system has continued to the present.
- e. Senator Young was elected to serve but the single day of December 4, 1980.

Table 2: Deputy Presidents Pro Tempore of the Senate, 1977-2003

Deputy President Pro Tempore	Party-State	Congress	Dates
Hubert H. Humphrey ^a	D-MN	95 th	January 5, 1977- January 13, 1978
George J. Mitchell b	D-ME	100 th	January 28, 1987- November 29, 1988 ^c

- a. Pursuant to S.Res. 17, agreed to January 10, 1977, the Senate established (effective January 5, 1977) the post of Deputy President pro tempore of the Senate to be held by "any Member of the Senate who has held the Office of President of the United States or Vice President of the United States." Senator Humphrey held this position until his death on January 13, 1978.
- b. On January 28, 1987, the Senate agreed to S.Res. 90, authorizing the Senate to designate a Senator to serve as Deputy President pro tempore during the 100th Congress, in addition to Senators who hold such office under the authority of S.Res. 17, 95th Congress. Accordingly, on the same date the Senate agreed to S.Res. 91, designating Senator George J. Mitchell Deputy President pro tempore.
- c. On November 29, 1988, Senator Mitchell was elected Majority Leader for the 101st Congress.

Table 3: Permanent Acting President Pro Tempore of the Senate, 1964-2003

Congress	Name	State	Elected
88 th -95 th	Lee W. Metcalf ^a	Montana	February 7, 1964

Notes: This office was initially established in 1963 upon the adoption of S.Res. 232 and S.Res. 238 making Senator Metcalf Acting President pro tempore from December 9, 1963, until the meeting of the second regular session of the 88th Congress. When the position of Vice President became vacant upon the death of President John F. Kennedy, the added constitutional responsibilities imposed on then-President pro tempore Carl Hayden moved the Senate to agree on February 7, 1964 to S.Res. 296, authorizing Senator Metcalf "to perform the duties of the Chair as Acting President Pro Tempore until otherwise ordered by the Senate." Senator Metcalf continued to hold the post throughout his remaining 14 years in the Senate.

a. Died January 12, 1978.

Table 4: Presidents Pro Tempore Emeritus of the Senate, 2001-2003

Congress	Name	State	Elected
107 th	Strom Thurmond	SC	June 6, 2001 ^a - January 7, 2003
108 th	Robert C. Byrd	WV	January 15, 2003 ^b

- a. Elected pursuant to S.Res. 103, adopted June 6, 2001. See "Thanking and Electing Strom Thurmond President Pro Tempore Emeritus," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 147, p. S5844.
- b. Elected pursuant to S. Res. 21, adopted January 15, 2003. See "Thanks to the Honorable Robert C. Byrd and His Designation as President Pro Tempore Emeritus," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 149, p.S843.

Appendix: Political Party Abbreviations

Adams Adams

Adams-Clay F
Adams-Clay R
Adams-Clay Republican

AJ Anti-Jackson

Am American (Know-Nothing)

Anti-Admin Anti-Administration

C Conservative

CRR Crawford Republican

D Democrat
F Federalist
FL Farmer-Labor
FS Free Soil
I Independent

ID Independent Democrat IR Independent Republican

J Jacksonian

JR Jacksonian Republican

L Liberty

LR Liberal Republican

N Nullifier

N/A Party Unknown or No Party Affiliation

NR National Republican

OP Opposition
PO Populist
PR Progressive
Pro-Admin Pro-Administration

R Republican

R(DR)^a Jeffersonian, Jeffersonian Republican, or

Democratic Republican

RA Readjuster S Silver

SR Silver Republican

U Unionist

UU Unconditional Unionist

W Whig

Source: The table is derived from Robert C. Byrd, *The Senate*, *1789-1989*, A U.S. Senate Bicentennial publication, 100th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 100-20, vol. 4 (Washington: GPO, 1993), *Historical Statistics*, *1789-1992*, p. xiii.

a. Although the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* identifies the party affiliation of certain Representatives in early Congresses as Republicans, the designation "Democratic Republican" is more familiar to readers. This designation, R(DR), should not be confused with the contemporary Republican Party which did not emerge until the 1850s.

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